A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

Tranſlated from the French of the

ABBÉ RAYNAL,

By J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

THE SECOND EDITION:

REVISED AND CORRECTED.

WITH MAPS ADAPTED TO THE WORK,

AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

LONDON:

Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand.

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FOURTH VOLUME.

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Quebec
Ottawas R.
Lake Champlain
Lake Frontenac
Toronto Ft.
Ft. Niagara
L. Erie
le Detroit
Iroquois
F.t Duquesne
Pensylvania
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Annapolis
St. Mary's
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James Town
Williamsburg
Roanoak R.
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Ebenezer
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Ft. St. Augustine
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Lucayo
Harbor
Elauthera
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Tropic
Delaware B.
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Block I.
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French Inhabitants
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Nova Scotia
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Canada
Great Bank of Newfoundland
George T.
Bermudas Is.
Ocean
Atlantic
45
40
35
30
25
97° 35′ Longit: W. from London
87° 35′
82° 35′
77° 35′
72° 35′
67° 35′
62° 35′
57° 35′
of Cancer

Published by T. Cadell, according to Act of Parliam.t April 24.th 1776.

MAP of the European Settlements in NORTH AMERICA.

By Thos. Kitchin Hydrographer to His MAJESTY.

English Miles 69 to a Degree.
30 60 120 180 240 300 360
Leagues 20 to a Degree.
10 20 40 60 80

Long.d W. fr. Ferro 120 110 100 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0
Meridian of Ferro
70 65 60 55 50

BAFFIN's BAY
DAVIS's STRAITS
GREENLAND
JAMES I.
Repulse Bay
Arctic Circle
Wager Bay
Cumberland Bay
NEW WALES
Chesterfield B.
Pistol B.
Welcome B.
Barren I.
I. of GOOD FORTUNE
Nottingham I.
HUDSON's STRAIT
Mansfeld I.
HUDSON's BAY
Pr. of Wales Ft.
R. Churchil
R. Nelson
York Fort
Kris
New Severn R.
L. Ouinipigon
NEW SOUTH WALES
R. of the Assenipoulds supposed to fall into the Western Ocean
Assenipouels
JAMES BAY
Albany Ft.
Albany R.
Peray R.
Ademipigon
L. of the Woods
LABRADOR or NEW BRITAIN
Atchikon L.
Slude R.
Ruperts R.
St Johns R.
Esquimaux
Belle I.
C. Bellesle
Petit Nord
C. Bonavista
Conception B.
NEW FOUND LAND
St John
Anticosti I.

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE OF THE EUROPEANS IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK XII.

Settlements of the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the Danes, in the American iſlands.

BOOK XII.

A Spaniſh colony formed on the banks of the Oronooko. The uſe that has been, and may be, made of it.

THE honour of having diſcovered the great Archipelago of the Caribbee iſlands, and of having formed the firſt ſettlements on them, is due to Spain. The moſt advanced of theſe from the American continent is called Trinidad. Columbus landed on it in 1498, when he diſcovered the Oronooko; but other objects interfering, both the iſland and the coaſts of the neighbouring continent were at that time neglected. But the luſtre of the

BOOK XII.

gold, which had been ſeen from a diſtance glittering on the ſhore, cauſed them to be re-viſited by the nation which had firſt made the diſcovery. The conqueſt of thoſe immenſe regions, which are watered by one of the largeſt and richeſt rivers of the univerſe, was reſolved upon; and the iſland of Trinidad, ſituated at the mouth of the Oronooko, was peopled, in order to inſure and facilitate the execution of ſo great an enterpriſe. An iſland has always the advantage of a continent, when, having but a ſmall extent of country to defend, it has a very large one to attack; as was the caſe in the preſent inſtance.

The river Oronooko, which, as is commonly believed, ſprings from the Cordeleras, after being increaſed in a courſe of five hundred and ſeventy-five leagues by the influx of a great number of rivers of different magnitude, empties itſelf into the ocean by more than fifty channels. Its impetuoſity is ſo great, that it ſtems the moſt powerful tides, and preſerves the freſhneſs of its waters to the diſtance of twelve leagues from that vaſt and deep channel within which it was confined. But this rapidity is not always equal, and owes its variations to a circumſtance, perhaps, entirely peculiar. The Oronooko, in the month of April, begins to ſwell, and continues to riſe during five months; the ſixth it remains at its greateſt height; in October, it begins to ſubſide, and falls gradually till the month of March, during which it continues in a fixed ſtate of its greateſt diminution. Theſe alternate changes are regular even to certainty.

This

THIS phœnomenon, the cauſe of which is not known, ſeems to depend much more on the ſea than on the land. In the ſix months that the river is riſing, the hemiſphere of the new world preſents nothing but ſeas, at leaſt but little land, to the perpendicular action of the rays of the ſun. In the ſix months of its fall, America exhibits nothing but dry land to the planet by which it is illuminated. The ſea, at this time, is leſs ſubject to the influence of the ſun, or, at leaſt, its current towards the eaſtern ſhore is more balanced, more broken by the land, and muſt, therefore, leave a freer courſe to the rivers, which, not being then ſo ſtrongly confined by the ſea, cannot be ſwelled but by rains, or by the melting of the ſnows from the Cordeleras. Perhaps, indeed, the riſing of the waters of the Oronooko may depend entirely on the rainy ſeaſon. But to be thoroughly acquainted with the cauſes of ſo ſingular a phœnomenon, it would be neceſſary to conſider, how far the courſe of this river may be affected by that of the Amazons, and to know the track and direction both of the one and the other. From the difference of their ſituation, their ſource, and their opening into the ſea, it is not improbable, that the cauſe of ſo remarkable a difference in the periods of their flux and reflux might be diſcovered. All things are connected in this wordly ſyſtem. The courſes of rivers depend either on the diurnal or annual revolutions of the earth. Whenever an enlightened people ſhall acquire a knowledge of the banks of the Oronooko, they will diſcover,

or, at leaſt, they will attempt to diſcover, the cauſes of theſe phœnomena. But their endeavours will be attended with difficulties. The river is not ſo navigable as it might be preſumed from its magnitude; its bed is in many places filled up with rocks, which oblige the navigator at times to carry both his boats and the merchandiſe they are laden with.

The people who border on this river, but little diſtant from the burning Line, inhabiting a country, perhaps, too fruitful to have been cultivated, know neither the trouble of clothes, the reſtraints of police, nor the burthen of government. Free under the yoke of poverty, they live chiefly by hunting and fiſhing, and on wild fruits. But little of their time or labour can be ſpent on agriculture, where they have nothing but a ſtick to plough with, and hatchets made of ſtone to cut down trees, which, being burned or rotted, leave the ſoil in a proper ſtate for bearing.

The ſtate of ſervitude in which the women are kept in the new world, is undoubtedly the principal cauſe of the want of population in this part of the globe. This tyranny, which is univerſal, is more prevalent on the banks of the Oronooko, than in any other place. There are, therefore, few inhabitants in theſe countries, though greatly favoured by nature. Mothers have contracted the cuſtom of deſtroying the daughters they bring forth, by cutting the navel-ſtring ſo cloſe to the body, that the children die of a hæmorrhage. Chriſtianity itſelf has not even been able to put a

ſtop to this abominable practice. The Jeſuit Gumilla confirms this fact; who, being informed that one of his converts had been guilty of ſuch a murder, went to her in order to reproach her of her crime in the ſtrongeſt terms. The woman liſtened to the miſſionary without ſhewing the leaſt ſigns of emotion. When he had finiſhed his remonſtrance, ſhe deſired leave to anſwer him; which ſhe did in the following manner:

"WOULD to God, O Father! would to God, "that, at the inſtant of my birth, my mother had "ſhewed love and compaſſion enough for her child, "to ſpare me all the evils I have endured, and "thoſe I ſhall ſtill ſuffer to the end of my life! If "my mother had deſtroyed me at my birth, I "ſhould have been dead, but I ſhould not have "been ſenſible of my death; and ſhould have "eſcaped the moſt miſerable of conditions. How "many afflictions have I already experienced! and "who knows what I have ſtill to endure!

"REPRESENT to yourſelf, O Father, the troubles "that are reſerved for an Indian woman among "theſe Indians. They accompany us into the "fields with their bow and arrows; while we go "there laden with an infant which we carry in a "baſket, and another which we carry at our breaſt. "They go to kill birds, or to catch fiſh; while "we are employed in digging the ground, and, "after having gone through all the labours of the "culture, are obliged alſo to bear thoſe of the "harveſt. They return in the evening without "any burden, and we bring them roots for their

"food, and maize for their drink. As ſoon as "they come home, they go and amuſe themſelves "with their friends; while we are fetching wood "and water to prepare their ſupper. When they "have eaten, they fall aſleep; and we paſs almoſt "the whole night in grinding the maize and in "preparing the chica for them. And what reward "have we for theſe labours? They drink; and, "when they are intoxicated, they drag us by the "hair, and trample us under foot.

"O FATHER, would to God that my mother had "deſtroyed me at the inſtant of my birth! Thou "knoweſt thyſelf that our complaints are juſt. "Thou haſt daily inſtances before thine eyes of the "truth of what I ſay. But the greateſt misfortune "we labour under it is impoſſible thou ſhouldſt "know. It is a melancholy circumſtance for a poor "Indian woman to ſerve her huſband as a ſlave "in the fields, wearied out with fatigue, and at "home deprived of tranquillity: but it is a dread-"ful thing, when twenty years are elapſed, to ſee "him take another woman, whoſe judgment is not "formed. He attaches himſelf to her. She beats "us, and our children; ſhe commands us, and "treats us as her ſervants; and, if the leaſt murmur "eſcapes us, a ſtick raiſed—Oh! Father, how is it "poſſible that we ſhould bear this condition! "What can an Indian woman do better than to "prevent her child from living in a ſtate of ſlavery, "infinitely worſe than death! Would to God, "O Father, I repeat it, that my mother had con-

"ceived

"ceived affection enough for me to bury me when I "was born! my heart would not have been thus "afflicted; nor would my eyes have been accuſ- "tomed to tears."

AMONG the ſeveral ſmall nations that wander about in theſe immenſe regions, there is one in which the nature of the ſoil has rendered the fate of the women leſs wretched. The people of this nation, are thoſe that inhabit a cluſter of iſlands, formed by the different mouths of the Oroonoko. Their country, though under water during the ſix months of the year that the river is ſwelling, and though overflowed throughout the reſt of the year twice a day by the tide, is preferred by them to any other. They have continued to live there without riſque, by building their huts upon very high ſtakes, which they ſink very deep into the mud. The palm-tree, which grows over this ſandy ſoil, ſupplies theſe mild, chearful, and ſociable ſavages with their food, drink, furniture, and canoes.

IT was not till the year 1535 that the Spaniards thought of paying another viſit to the river Oronooko. Having been diſappointed in their ſearch after mines, they conſidered it of ſo little importance, that they never formed more than one ſmall ſettlement upon it. This is ſituated at the lower part of the river, and is called St. Thomas. The firſt coloniſts applied themſelves with ſo much ardour to the cultivation of tobacco, that they delivered annually ten cargoes to the Dutch. This intercourſe having been prohibited by the mother-country, the town, which hath alſo been twice

BOOK XII.

ſacked by privateers, inſenſibly fell into decay. The whole employment of the place, at preſent, is to breed a few cattle, which they ſend to Cumana by an inland communication.

THESE vaſt and fertile regions would ſoon emerge from their preſent obſcurity, if Spain knew how to avail herſelf of the active ambition of the Jeſuits. It is well known that theſe men, admirable as a ſociety, dangerous in a political, and deteſtable in a religious view, had ſucceeded ſo far as to draw from the midſt of their foreſts a great number of wild natives; to ſettle them on the banks of the Oronooko, and other rivers, moſt of which are navigable, that fall into it; and to inſtil into them ſome ſocial principles, and ſome taſte for ſome of the more neceſſary arts, particularly agriculture. Theſe people already cultivate ſugar, cotton, tobacco, and cocoa, for their own conſumption: would it not be poſſible to induce them to increaſe the growth of theſe commodities, by offering them others in exchange? The diſtance between a ſavage and a ſocial ſtate is immenſe; but, from the infancy of ſociety to a flouriſhing ſtate of commerce, there are but few ſteps to make. Time, as it improves the ſtrength, makes the interval appear leſs. Spain would be enriched by her traffic with theſe new plantations, whoſe produce might be carried to Trinidad; and thus that iſland would be reſtored to its original deſtination.

Settlement of the Spaniards at Trinidad, and at Margaretta.

BUT, beſides the ſerving as a ſtaple, its extent, the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil, and the convenience of its roads, would make it an object in itſelf of conſiderable importance. Thoſe who have ſurveyed it with

with ſufficient attention and ſkill to diſcern, through the impediments of thick foreſts with which it is covered, the real value of it, have eſteemed it capable of producing in abundance many ſpecies of commodities, and even ſuch as bear a high price. Yet, its produce hath been confined merely to cocoa; but this was in ſuch perfection, that it was preferred even to that of Caracca; and the Spaniſh merchants, in order to ſecure it, ſtrove to anticipate each other by paying for it in advance. This eagerneſs, which may ſometimes give a ſpur to the induſtry of a people naturally active, is certain deſtruction to thoſe among whom the deſire of eaſe has the force of a paſſion, and even almoſt of a neceſſity, if not of nature at leaſt, of habit. The proprietors, having received more money than they could repay with that ſingle commodity, in which their whole fortune conſiſted, fell, by degrees, into deſpair; and, from the dread of unuſual toil, gave over all thoughts of labour. Since the year 1727, there hath been no more cocoa to be found on the iſland; which, from that time, hath had no correſpondence with the mother country.

THE ſame negligence had before ruined Margaretta. This iſland enjoyed a momentary exiſtence and proſperity from a ſpecies of wealth drawn from the bottom of the ſea which encompaſſed it. Columbus in 1498 diſcovered, at the diſtance of four leagues from the continent, the little iſle of Cubagua, afterwards called Pearl Iſland. The quantities of this treaſure, which nature

nature yielded without any expence, attracted the Spaniards to this place in 1509. They brought with them ſome ſavages from the Bahama iſlands, who had been found not proper for working in the mines, but had a faculty of continuing a long time under water. This talent was employed with ſo much ardour, that great fortunes were raiſed in a very ſmall time. The banks of pearl were exhauſted, and the colony transferred, in 1524, to Margaretta, where ſome of the ſame kind had juſt been diſcovered, and which diſappeared in a ſtill ſhorter time. From this period that iſland, which is fifteen leagues in length and ſix in breadth, became more neglected by Spain than Trinidad.

That the court of Madrid ſtill maintains poſſeſſion of theſe two iſlands, is more for the ſake of keeping nations of greater induſtry at a diſtance from the continent, than with a view of deriving any advantage to itſelf from them. Here is a mixed race, formed between Spaniards and Indian women, who, joining the indolence of the ſavage to the vices of civilized nations, are ſluggards, cheats, and zealots. They live on what fiſh they catch, and bananas, which nature, out of indulgence as it were to their ſlothfulneſs, produces there of a larger ſize, and better quality than in any other part of the Archipelago. They have a breed of lean and taſteleſs cattle, with which they carry on a fraudulent traffic to the French colonies, exchanging them for camlets, black veils, linens, ſilk ſtockings, white hats, and hard-ware. The number of their veſſels does not exceed thirty ſloops, without decks.

The

The tame cattle of theſe two iſlands have filled the woods with a breed that is become wild. The inhabitants ſhoot them, and cut their fleſh into ſlips of three inches in breadth and one in thickneſs, which they dry, after having melted the fat out of them, ſo that they will keep three or four months. This proviſion, which is called Taſſau, is ſold in the French ſettlements for twenty livres* a hundred weight.

ALL the money which the government ſends to theſe two iſlands, falls into the hands of the commandants, the officers civil and military, and the monks. The remainder of the people, who do not amount to more than ſixteen hundred, live in a ſtate of the moſt deplorable poverty. In time of war they furniſh about two hundred men, who, for the ſake of plunder, offer themſelves without diſtinction to any of the colonies that happen to be fitting out cruizers for ſea.

Spaniſh ſettlement at Porto-Rico.

THE inhabitants of Porto-Rico are of a different turn. This iſland, which is ſituated in the center of the Antilles, is forty leagues in length, and twenty in its greateſt breadth. Though it was diſcovered and viſited by Columbus in 1493, the Spaniards neglected it till 1509, when thirſt of gold brought them thither from St. Domingo, under the command of Ponce de Leon, to make a conqueſt, which afterwards coſt them dear.

IT is generally known, that the uſe of poiſoned arms is of the higheſt antiquity. In moſt countries

* 17s. 6d.

it preceded the invention of ſteel. When darts headed with ſtone, bones of fiſh or other animals, proved inſufficient to repel the attacks of wild beaſts, men had recourſe to poiſonous juices, which, from being originally deſigned meerly for the chace, were afterwards employed in war againſt their own ſpecies. Ambition and revenge ſet no limits to their outrages, till ages had been ſpent in drowning whole nations in rivers of blood. When it was diſcovered that this effuſion of blood produced no advantage, and that, in proportion as the ſtream ſwelled in its courſe, it depopulated countries, and left nothing but deſerts without animation and without culture; they then came to an agreement to moderate in ſome degree the thirſt of ſhedding it. They eſtabliſhed what are called the laws of war; that is to ſay, injuſtice in injuſtice, or the intereſt of kings in the maſſacre of the people. They do not now cut the throats of all their victims at once; but reſerve ſome few of the herd to propagate the breed. Theſe laws of war, or of nations, required the abolition of certain abuſes in the art of killing. Where fire-arms are to be had, poiſoned weapons are forbidden; and, when cannon balls will anſwer the end, chewed bullets are not allowed. O! race, unworthy both of heaven or earth, deſtructive, tyrannical being, man, or devil rather, wilt thou never ceaſe to torment this globe, where thou exiſteſt but for a moment! Will thy wars never end but with the annihilation of thy ſpecies! Go then; if thou wouldſt advance thy miſchief, go and provide thyſelf with the poiſons of the new world.

OF all the regions, productive of venomous plants, none abounded ſo much in them as South-America, which owed this malignant fertility to a ſoil in general rank, as if it was purging itſelf from the ſlime of a deluge.

THE plants called Lianes, of which there were vaſt numbers in all damp and marſhy places, furniſhed the poiſon, which was in univerſal requeſt on the continent. The method of preparing it was by cutting them in pieces, then boiling them in water, till the liquor had acquired the conſiſtence of a ſyrup. After this they dipped their arrows in it, which were immediately impregnated with the poiſonous quality. During ſeveral ages, the ſavages in general uſed theſe arms in their wars with each other. At length many of thoſe nations, from the deficiency of their numbers, found the neceſſity of renouncing ſo deſtructive a weapon, and reſerved it for beaſts, whether large or ſmall, which they could not overtake or overcome. Any animal, whoſe ſkin has been raiſed with one of theſe poiſoned arrows, dies a minute after, without any ſign of convulſion or pain. This is not occaſioned by the coagulation of the blood, which was a long time the general opinion; recent experiments have proved, that this poiſon, mixed with blood newly drawn and warm, prevents it from coagulating, and even preſerves it ſome time from putrefaction. It is probable, that the effect of theſe juices is upon the nervous ſyſtem. Some travellers have imputed the origin of the venereal diſeaſe among the inhabitants of the new world,

to the habit of eating game killed with theſe poiſoned arms. At preſent it is univerſally known, that the fleſh of ſuch animals may be eaten for a continuance without any ill effect.

In the American iſlands, the natives draw their poiſon from trees more than from the Lianes; and of all the venomous ſorts of trees, the moſt deadly is the mancheneel. Its trunk, which is never more than two feet in circumference, is covered with a ſmooth tender bark. Its flowers are of a reddiſh caſt. Its fruit is of the colour of a peach, and has a ſtone in the middle. The leaves of it are like thoſe of the laurel, and contain a milky fluid. In the heat of the day it is dangerous to handle them, on account of the moiſture which exudes from their pores; and ſtill more dangerous to repoſe under them, from the prodigious quantity of duſt that falls from the innumerable flowers borne by theſe trees. Inciſions being made in the trunk of them, ſhells are placed under to receive the ſap; as ſoon as it is grown a little thick, they ſteep the points of their arrows in it, which acquire from thence the property of conveying ſudden death, be the wound ever ſo ſlight. This poiſon, as appears by experience, preſerves its venomous quality above a hundred years. Of all the ſpots where this tree is found, Porto-Rico is that in which it delights moſt, and where it is found in the greateſt abundance. Why were not the firſt conquerors of America all ſhipwrecked on this iſland? It is the misfortune of both worlds that they became acquainted with it ſo late, and that

they

they did not there meet with the death which their avarice merited.

THE mancheneel ſeems to have been fatal only to the Americans. The inhabitants of the iſland where it grows, uſed it to repel the Caribs, who made frequent deſcents on their coaſts. The ſame arms they might have employed againſt the Europeans; and, as the Spaniards were ignorant at that time that ſalt, applied immediately, is an infallible cure, they would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to the firſt effects of this poiſon. But they did not meet with the leaſt reſiſtance from the ſavage inhabitants of the iſland. They had been informed of what had occurred in the conqueſt of the neighbouring iſles; and they regarded theſe ſtrangers as a ſuperior order of beings, to whoſe chains they voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves. It was not long, however, before they wiſhed to ſhake off the intolerable yoke which had been impoſed on them, and poſtponed the enterpriſe only till they could be aſſured whether their tyrants were immortal. A Cacique, named Broyo, was intruſted with this commiſſion.

CHANCE favoured his deſign, by bringing to him Salzedo, a young Spaniard, who was travelling. He received him with great reſpect, and at his departure ſent ſome Indians to attend him on his way, and to ſerve him in the quality of guides. When they came to the bank of a river, which they were to paſs, one of theſe ſavages took him on his ſhoulder to carry him over. As ſoon as they had got into the midſt of it, he threw him

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into the water, and, with the aſſiſtance of his companions, kept him there till there was no appearance of life. They then dragged him to the bank; but, as they were ſtill in doubt whether he was dead or living, they begged pardon a thouſand times for the accident that had happened. This farce laſted three days; till at length being convinced, by the ſtench of the corpſe, that it was poſſible for Spaniards to die, the Indians roſe on all ſides upon their oppreſſors, and maſſacred a hundred of them.

PONCE de Leon immediately aſſembled all the Caſtilians who had eſcaped, and, without loſs of time, fell upon the ſavages, who were terrified with this ſudden attack. In proportion as the number of their enemies increaſed, their panic became more violent. They had even the folly to believe, that theſe Spaniards which were juſt arrived from St. Domingo, were the ſame that had been killed, and were come to life again to fight them. Under this ridiculous perſuaſion, dreading to continue a war with men who revive after their death, they ſubmitted once more to the yoke, and, being condemned to the mines, in a ſhort time fell martyrs to the toils of ſlavery.

SUCH acts of barbarity by no means promoted the intereſts of Spain. An iſland of conſiderable extent, enriched by a great number of rivers, fruitful, though unequal; furniſhed with an excellent port, and coaſts of eaſy acceſs: this iſland, the poſſeſſion of which would have made the fortune of an active nation, is ſcarcely known in the world. The inhabitants amount barely to fifteen hundred,

hundred, including Spaniards, Meſtees, and Mulattoes. They have about three thouſand negroes, whoſe employment is rather to gratify the indolence, than to aſſiſt the induſtry, of the proprietors. Both maſters and ſlaves, brought nearly upon a footing by their ſloth, ſubſiſt alike on maize, potatoes, and caſſava. If they cultivate ſugar, tobacco, and cocoa, it is only ſo much of each as is neceſſary for their own conſumption. Their exports conſiſt of about two thouſand ſkins, which they furniſh annually to the mother country, and a conſiderable number of mules, good in their kind, but ſmall; ſuch as are uſually found in broken and mountainous countries. Theſe mules are ſmuggled into Santa-Crux, Jamaica, and St. Domingo. This colony is protected in its idleneſs by a garriſon of two hundred men; which, with the clergy and civil officers, coſt government 250,000 livres *. This money, added to what they get for their cattle, is ſufficient to pay the Engliſh, Dutch, French, and Danes, for the linens and other merchandiſe they ſupply. All the advantage the mother country derives from this ſettlement, is to take in water and freſh proviſions there for the fleets ſhe ſends to the new world.

If Spain hath ſo little conſideration of her own intereſts, as to neglect the advantage which ſhe might draw from an iſland of ſuch importance, at leaſt ſhe ought to permit ſuch of her ſubjects, as chance hath conducted there, to emerge from that ſhameful

* Near 11,000l.

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ſhameful poverty in which they languiſh. To render their condition more happy, nothing is wanted but the liberty of a free market for their cattle. They would find paſture for as much as would ſupply the conſumption of all the Caribbee iſlands, where the lands are occupied in tillage. The ſituation of a ſettlement in the center of thoſe iſlands would be a very favourable circumſtance for its trade with them. An open communication with active and enlightened people would excite thoſe coloniſts who are not ſo. The deſire of partaking in the ſame enjoyments would inſpire the ſame ardour for buſineſs. The court of Madrid would then reap the political fruits of a condeſcenſion which humanity alone ſhould dictate to it. Till this liberty of commerce is granted, Porto-Rico will be of no more ſervice to Spain than St. Domingo.

Spaniſh ſettlement at St. Domingo.

THIS iſland, famous for being the earlieſt ſettlement of the Spaniards in the new world, was at firſt in high eſtimation for the quantity of gold it ſupplied: this wealth diminiſhed with the inhabitants of the country, whom they obliged to dig it out of the bowels of the earth; and the ſource of it was entirely dried up, when the neighbouring iſlands no longer ſupplied the loſs of thoſe wretched victims to the avarice of the conqueror. A vehement deſire of opening again this ſource of wealth inſpired the thought of getting ſlaves from Africa; but, beſides that theſe were found unfit for the labours they were deſtined to, the multitude of mines, which then began to be wrought on the continent, made thoſe of St. Domingo no longer

of

of any importance. An idea now ſuggeſted itſelf, that their negroes, which were healthy, ſtrong, and patient, might be uſefully employed in huſbandry; and they adopted, through neceſſity, a wiſe reſolution, which, had they known their own intereſt, they would have embraced by choice.

THE produce of their induſtry was at firſt extremely ſmall, becauſe the labourers were few. Charles V. who, like moſt ſovereigns, preferred his favourites to every thing, had granted an excluſive right of the ſlave trade to a Flemiſh nobleman, who made over his privilege to the Genoeſe. Thoſe avaricious republicans conducted this infamous commerce as all monopolies are conducted; they reſolved to ſell dear, and they ſold but few. When time and competition had fixed the natural and neceſſary price of ſlaves, the number of them increaſed. It may eaſily be imagined, that the Spaniards, who had been accuſtomed to treat the Indians as beaſts, though they differed but little in complexion from themſelves, did not entertain a higher opinion of theſe negro Africans, whom they ſubſtituted in their place. Degraded ſtill further in their eyes by the price they had paid for them, even religion could not reſtrain them from aggravating the weight of their ſervitude. It became intolerable, and theſe wretched ſlaves made an effort to recover the unalienable rights of mankind. Their attempt proved unſucceſsful; but they reaped this benefit from their deſpair, that they were afterwards treated with leſs inhumanity.

THIS moderation (if tyranny cramped by the apprehenſion of revolt can deſerve that name) was attended with good conſequences. Cultivation was purſued with ſome degree of ſucceſs. Soon after the middle of the ſixteenth century, the mother country drew annually from this colony ten million weight of ſugar, a large quantity of wood for dying, tobacco, cocoa, caſſia, ginger, cotton, and peltry in abundance. One might imagine, that ſuch favourable beginnings would give both the deſire and the means of carrying them further; but a train of events, more fatal each than the other, ruined theſe hopes.

THE firſt misfortune aroſe from the depopulation of St. Domingo. The Spaniſh conqueſts on the continent ſhould naturally have contributed to promote the ſucceſs of an iſland, which nature ſeemed to have formed to be the center of that vaſt dominion ariſing around it, to be the ſtaple of the different colonies. But it fell out quite otherwiſe: on a view of the immenſe fortunes raiſing in Mexico, and other parts, the richeſt inhabitants of St. Domingo began to deſpiſe their ſettlements, and quitted the true ſource of riches, which is on the ſurface of the earth, to go and ranſack the bowels of it for veins of gold, which are quickly exhauſted. The government endeavoured in vain to put a ſtop to this emigration; the laws were always either artfully eluded, or openly violated.

THE weakneſs, which was a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a conduct, leaving the coaſts without

out defence, encouraged the enemies of Spain to ravage them. Even the capital of this island was taken and pillaged by that celebrated English sailor, Francis Drake. The cruizers of less consequence contented themselves with intercepting vessels in their passage through those latitudes, the best known at that time of any in the new world. To complete these misfortunes, the Castilians themselves commenced pirates. They attacked no ships but those of their own nation; which were more rich, worse provided, and worse defended, than any others. The custom they had of fitting out ships clandestinely, in order to procure slaves, prevented them from being known; and the assistance they purchased from the ships of war, commissioned to protect the trade, insured to them impunity.

The foreign trade of the colony was its only resource in this distress; and that was illicit: but as it continued to be carried on, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Governors, or, perhaps, by their connivance, the policy of an exasperated and short-sighted court exerted itself in demolishing most of the sea-ports, and driving the miserable inhabitants into the inland country. This act of violence threw them into a state of dejection; which the incursions and settlement of the French on the island afterwards carried to the utmost pitch.

Spain, totally taken up with that vast empire which she had formed on the continent, used no pains to dissipate this lethargy. She even refused to listen to the sollicitations of her Flemish subjects,

who earneſtly preſſed that they might have permiſſion to clear thoſe fertile lands. Rather than run the riſque of ſeeing them carry on a contraband trade on the coaſts, ſhe choſe to bury in oblivion a ſettlement which had been of conſequence, and was likely to become ſo again.

This colony, which had no longer any intercourſe with the mother country but by a ſingle ſhip of no great burthen, received from thence every third year, conſiſted in 1717 of eighteen thouſand four hundred and ten inhabitants, including Spaniards, Meſtees, negroes, or Mulattoes. The complexion and character of theſe people differed according to the different proportions of American, European, and African blood they had received from that natural and tranſient union which reſtores all races and conditions to the ſame level; for love is not more a reſpecter of perſons than death. Theſe demi-ſavages, plunged in the extreme of ſloth, lived upon fruits and roots, dwelt in cottages without furniture, and moſt of them without clothes. The few among them, in whom indolence had not totally ſuppreſſed the ſenſe of decency, and taſte for the conveniences of life, purchaſed clothes of their neighbours the French, in return for their cattle, and the money ſent to them for the maintenance of two hundred ſoldiers, the prieſts, and the government. It does not appear that the company, formed at Barcelona in 1757, with excluſive privileges for the re-eſtabliſhment of St. Domingo, hath as yet made any conſiderable progreſs. They ſend out only two ſmall veſſels annually, which

are

are freighted back with ſix thouſand hides, and ſome other commodities of little value.

Sr. Domingo, the capital of the colony, and the place where this traffic is carried on, is ſituated on the ſide of a plain thirty leagues in length, and from eight to twelve in breadth. This large tract, which, properly cultivated, would furniſh proviſions to the amount of twenty millions *, is covered with foreſts and under-wood, with ſome paſture land interſperſed at intervals, which ſerves for a conſiderable number of cattle. This ſpot, which is level throughout almoſt its whole extent, becomes unequal in the neighbourhood of the town, which is built on the banks of the Lozama. Some magnificent ruins are all the remains of the once-flouriſhing ſtate of this celebrated city. On the land-ſide, it has no fortification but a ſimple wall, without either ditch or outworks; but towards the river and the ſea it is well defended. Such is the only ſettlement the Spaniards have kept up on the ſouthern coaſt.

On the north there is one called Monte Chriſto. Happily this maritime and commercial place hath had no connexion with Spain. It owes its trade to the vicinity of the French plantations. In time of peace, the produce of the plain of Mariboux, ſituated between fort Dauphin and bay Mancheneel, is all carried to this port, which is conſtantly filled with Engliſh ſmugglers. When there is a rupture between the courts of London and Verſailles, without

* 875,000l.

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out engaging that of Madrid, Monte Chriſto becomes a very conſiderable market; for all the northern part of the French colony ſend their commodities thither, where they never fail of meeting with ſhips ready to take them off; but, the moment Spain finds herſelf called upon to take a part in the diſputes between the two rival nations, this trade ceaſes.

THE Spaniards have no ſettlement in the weſtern part of the iſland, which is entirely occupied by the French; and it is not above nine or ten years ſince they thought of ſettling to the eaſtward, which they had long entirely neglected.

THE project of cultivation, which accidentally found its way into the council at Madrid, might be carried into execution in the plain of Vega-Real, which is ſituated in the inland part, and is fourſcore leagues in length, by ten in its greateſt breadth. It would be difficult to find throughout the new world a ſpot more level, more fruitful, or better watered. All the productions of America would ſucceed admirably there; but it would be impoſſible to remove them from thence without making roads; which is an undertaking that would ſtagger nations more enterpriſing than the Spaniards. Theſe difficulties ſhould naturally have led them to fix their eyes on the plains of St. Domingo, which are fruitful, though not in ſo great a degree as thoſe of Vega-Real. Probably they were apprehenſive, that the new coloniſts would adopt the manners of the old, and therefore determined upon Samana.

SAMANA

SAMANA is a peninſula on the eaſtern part of the iſland, five leagues broad, and ſixteen long; and is joined to the continent by a narrow ſlip of very marſhy ground. It forms a bay of fourteen leagues in length, where the anchorage is in fourteen fathom, and ſo commodious that the ſhips may lie cloſe to the ſhore. This bay is full of little iſlands, which it is eaſy to keep clear of by ſteering cloſe to the weſtern coaſt. Beſides the poſſeſſion of a fertile, though not a level ſoil, this neck of land affords a ſituation very advantageous for trade, and for bringing the ſhips that come from Europe cloſe to the ſhore.

THESE conſiderations induced the firſt adventurers from France, who ravaged St. Domingo, to ſettle at Samana; where they maintained their ground a long time, though ſurrounded by their enemies. At length, it was found that they were too much expoſed, and at too great a diſtance from the reſt of the French ſettlements on the iſland, which were every day improving. In conſequence of this they were recalled. The Spaniards rejoiced at their departure; but did not take poſſeſſion of the ſpot they had quitted.

WITHIN theſe few years, however, they have ſent thither ſome people from the Canaries; the ſtate was at the expence of the voyage, and of their maintenance for ſeveral years. Theſe meaſures, prudent as they were, have not been attended with ſucceſs. The new inhabitants have for the moſt part fallen victims to the climate, to the clearing of the ground, and, above all, to the arbitrary

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impoſitions of the governors, whoſe military turn is ever fatal to colonies. Of theſe ſtrangers the few that ſurvive ſo many evils languiſh under the expectation of approaching death. Such unſucceſsful beginnings promiſe no very fortunate concluſions. St. Domingo is likely to continue, as far as concerns the Spaniards, in the ſame feeble ſtate they have left it till now. Nature and fortune will make them amends by Cuba.

Spaniſh colony formed at Cuba. Importance of that Iſland.

THE iſland of Cuba, which is ſeparated from St. Domingo by a narrow channel, is of itſelf equal in value to a kingdom: it is two hundred and fifty leagues in length, and in breadth from fifteen to twenty and thirty. Though it was diſcovered by Columbus in 1492, the Spaniards did not attempt to make themſelves maſters of it till 1511, when Diego de Velaſquez came with four ſhips and landed on the eaſtern point.

THIS diſtrict was under the government of a Cacique named Hatuey. He was a native of St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola, and had retired hither to avoid the ſlavery to which his contrymen were condemned. Thoſe, who could eſcape the tyranny of the Caſtilians, had followed him in his retreat, where he formed a little ſtate, and ruled in peace. At a diſtance he obſerved the Spaniſh ſails, whoſe approach he dreaded. On the firſt news he received of their arrival, he called together the braveſt Indians, both of his ſubjects and allies, to animate them to a defence of their liberty; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that all their efforts would be ineffectual, if they did not firſt render the God of their enemies

enemies propitious to them: *Behold him there,* ſaid he, pointing to a veſſel filled with gold, *behold that mighty divinity, let us invoke his aid!*

THIS ſimple and credulous people eaſily believed, that gold, for the ſake of which ſo much blood was ſhed, was the god of the Spaniards. They danced and ſang before the rude and unfaſhioned ore, and reſigned themſelves wholly to its protection.

BUT Hatuey, more enlightened, and more ſuſpicious than the other Caciques, aſſembled them again. *We muſt not,* ſaid he to them, *expect any happineſs ſo long as the god of the Spaniards remains among us. He is no leſs our enemy than they. They ſeek for him in every place; and where they find him, there they eſtabliſh themſelves. Were he hidden in the cavities of the earth, they would diſcover him. Were we to ſwallow him, they would plunge their hands into our bowels, and drag him out. There is no place but the bottom of the ſea, that can elude their ſearch. When he is no longer among us, doubtleſs we ſhall be forgotten by them.* As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, every man brought out his gold, and threw it into the ſea.

Notwithſtanding this, the Spaniards advanced. Their muſkets and cannons, thoſe tremendous deities, diſperſed with their thunder the ſavages, who endeavoured to reſiſt: but, as Hatuey might reaſſemble them, he was purſued through the woods, taken, and condemned to be burned. When he was faſtened to the ſtake, and waited only for the kindling of the fire, an inhuman prieſt advanced to propoſe the ceremony of baptiſm, and to ſpeak to him

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him of paradiſe. *Are there,* ſaid the Cacique, *any Spaniards in that happy place? Yes,* replied the miſſionary; *but there are none but good ones. The beſt of them,* returned Hatuey, *are good for nothing. I will not go to a place, where I ſhould be in danger of meeting one of them. Talk no more to me of your religion, but leave me to die.*

THUS was the Cacique burned, the God of the Chriſtians diſhonoured, and his croſs imbrued with human blood; but Velaſquez found no more enemies to oppoſe him. All the Caciques haſtened to do homage to him. After the mines had been opened, and it was found that they did not anſwer, the inhabitants of Cuba, being become uſeleſs, were exterminated; for, at that time, to conquer was to deſtroy. One of the largeſt iſlands in the world did not coſt the Spaniards a ſingle man: but what profit have they drawn from the conqueſt of Cuba?

THE ſettlement they have formed upon this iſland may be conſidered in three views, each of which merits a ſerious attention. The firſt is, on account of the produce of the country, which is conſiderable; the ſecond, as being the ſtaple of a great trade; and the third, as being the key to the new world.

THE principal growth of this vaſt iſland is naturally cotton. This ſhrub, at the time of the conqueſt, was very common there. The preſervation of it required little expence or labour; and the general dryneſs of the ſoil adapted it particularly to this purpoſe. The commodity, however, is now become

become ſo ſcarce, that ſometimes ſeveral years paſs without any of it being ſent to Europe.

ALTHOUGH the Spaniards have an inſurmountable antipathy to imitation, yet they have of late adopted the cultivation of coffee at Cuba, having obſerved the rapid progreſs it made in the neighbouring iſlands. But, in borrowing the commodity from foreign coloniſts, they have not borrowed their diligence in improving it. Their whole produce of coffee barely amounts to thirty or five and thirty thouſand weight, one third of which is exported to Vera Cruz, and the reſt to Madrid. One ſhould naturally conclude, that the growth of this plant will increaſe, in proportion as the uſe of a liquor ſo familiar to people in hot climates ſhall become more common among the Spaniards; but a nation, which was the firſt to introduce into Europe a taſte for coffee, and the laſt to adopt it both in Europe and America, will be ſlow in all its improvements, as it is in every kind of invention. The propagation of coffee requires that of ſugar; it may be worth while, therefore, to inquire how far the Spaniards are prepared by the one for the other.

SUGAR, which is the richeſt and moſt valuable production of America, would of itſelf be ſufficient to give to Cuba that flouriſhing ſtate of proſperity, every ſource and channel of which nature ſeems to have opened for her. Although the ſurface of the iſland is in general unequal and mountainous, yet it has plains ſufficiently extenſive, and ſufficiently watered, to ſupply the conſumption of the greateſt

part

part of Europe in that article. The incredible fruitfulneſs of its new lands, if properly managed, would enable it to ſurpaſs every other nation, however they may have got the ſtart of it; their labour of more than half a century, ſpent in bringing their works to perfection, would end in this, that a rival, by taking up their method, would outſtrip them, and in leſs than twenty years engroſs the whole of their profits. But the Spaniſh colony is ſo jealous of their ſuperiority, that to this day they have but few plantations, where, with the fineſt canes, they make at a great expence but a ſmall quantity of ſugar, and that of a coarſer ſort. This ſerves partly for the Mexican market, and partly for the mother country; which, inſtead of making a gold mine, as it ſhould do, of its ſugar trade, buys to the value of more than five millions * of livres at foreign markets.

It has probably been expected, that the tobacco imported from Cuba would compenſate this loſs; for after furniſhing Mexico and Peru, there was ſufficient, with the little brought from Caracca and Buenos Ayres, to ſupply the demands of all Spain. The greateſt part comes there in leaf. That which is cured in the country by Pedro Alonzo, has been, and is ſtill held in the higheſt eſteem. This Spaniard, the only one, perhaps, who has enriched himſelf by a truly uſeful branch of induſtry, has gained in this trade between twelve and fifteen millions of livres †. If the government

* £. 218,750.

† From about 500,000 *l.* to 650,000 *l.* ſterling.

vernment had liſtened to this active citizen, the national wealth would have been augmented by the increaſed growth of a plant, which caprice renders ſo valuable. The decay of this trade is ſolely owing to the negligence of the court of Madrid in not gratifying the general taſte of Europe for tobacco from the Havannah.

The Spaniſh colonies have an univerſal trade in ſkins. Cuba ſupplies annually ten or twelve thouſand. The number might be eaſily increaſed in a country abounding with wild cattle, where ſome gentlemen poſſeſs on the coaſts, and in the inland parts, large tracts of land, which for want of population can ſcarcely be applied to any other purpoſe than that of breeding cattle.

It would be ſaying too much to aſſert, that the hundredth part of this iſland is cleared: there are only ſome traces of cultivation of St. Jago, a port to the windward of the colony, and at Matanga, a ſafe and ſpacious bay at the mouth of the old canal. The true plantations are all confined to the beautiful plains of the Havannah, and even theſe are not what they ought to be.

All theſe plantations together may employ about five and twenty thouſand male and female ſlaves, of every age. The number of whites, meſtees, mulattoes, and free negroes, upon the whole iſland, amounts to near thirty thouſand. The food of theſe different ſpecies of inhabitants conſiſts of excellent pork, deteſtable beef (both in great plenty and exceedingly cheap), and manioc. Even the troops have no other bread than the caſſava.

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caſſava. The habit of ſeeing Europeans frequently at Cuba has, probably, preſerved the inhabitants from that languid ſtate of inaction which prevails in all the other Spaniſh colonies in the new world. It muſt be further obſerved, that the people are leſs mixed, their dreſs more decent, and their manners better regulated, than in the other iſlands.

THE ſtate of the colony would be ſtill more flouriſhing, if its productions had not been made the property of a company, whoſe excluſive privilege operates as a conſtant and invariable principle of diſcouragement. The leſs induſtrious a nation is inclined to be, the more careful it ought to be to avoid every meaſure that may tend to obſtruct the progreſs of the more active and laborious part of the people.

IF any thing could ſupply the want of an open trade, and atone for the grievances occaſioned by this monopoly at Cuba, it would be the advantage this iſland has always enjoyed of being the rendezvous of almoſt all the Spaniſh veſſels that ſail to the new world. This practice commenced almoſt with the colony itſelf. Ponce de Leon, having made an attempt upon Florida in 1512, became acquainted with the new canal of Bahama. It was immediately diſcovered, that this would be the beſt route the ſhips bound from Mexico to Europe could poſſibly take; and in conſequence of this was formed the ſettlement at the Havannah, which is but two ſmall days journey from the canal.

canal. This port was afterwards found very convenient for veſſels diſpatched from Carthagena and Porto-Bello, which in a ſhort time purſued the ſame courſe; always putting in there and waiting for each other, that they might arrive together in greater ſtate at the mother country. The vaſt ſums expended during their ſtay, by ſailors whoſe cargoes conſiſted of the richeſt treaſures of the univerſe, made the city abound in money. The number of its inhabitants, which in 1561 conſiſted only of three hundred families, and was nearly doubled at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, amounts at preſent to ten thouſand ſouls.

One part of them is employed in the dock-yards, formerly erected by government for building ſhips of war. As to the maſts, iron, and cables, they are brought from Europe; the other materials are found in abundance upon the iſland. But that which is moſt valuable is the timber, which, growing under the influence of the hotteſt rays of the ſun, laſts with moderate care for whole centuries; whereas European ſhips dry and ſplit under the torrid zone. This wood begins to be ſcarce in the neighbourhood of the Havannah; but it is common on all the coaſts, and the tranſportation of it is neither dear nor difficult. Spain is the more intereſted to multiply its docks, as the ſeas moſt frequented by its ſhipping, all lie between the tropics. There is ſtill another motive for making the yards at the Havannah the principal reſource of its naval power, and that is, the pains which are now taking to render this key to all its

colonies impregnable. The importance of this undertaking may perhaps make the detail of it not disagreeable.

Every one knows, that the harbour of the Havannah is one of the safest in the universe; that the fleets of the whole world might ride at anchor there together; that the water is excellent and easily procured. The entrance is secured by rocks, which make it necessary to keep an exact course, in order to avoid striking on them. It is become more difficult since the year 1762, when three men of war were sunk there. This precaution has proved detrimental only to the Spaniards, who have not yet been able to weigh up those large vessels; and there was the less reason for it, as the enemy would not have attempted to force their way into the harbour, which was defended by the Moro and the fort on the point. The former of these fortresses is raised so high above the sea, that even a first-rate man of war could not batter it. The other has not the same advantage; but then it cannot be attacked but by a very narrow channel, where the warmest assailants could never withstand the numerous and formidable artillery of the Moro.

The Havannah, therefore, can only be attacked on the land side. Fifteen or sixteen thousand men, which are the most that could be employed in this service, would not be sufficient to invest the works, which cover a vast extent. Their efforts must be directed either to the right or left of the port, against the town or the Moro. If the latter, they may easily land within a league of the fort,

and

and will come within ſight of it, without difficulty, by good roads, through woods which will cover and ſecure their march.

The firſt difficulty will be that of getting water, which in the neighbourhood of the camp the aſſailants muſt chooſe is mortal. To fetch ſuch as is drinkable, they muſt go in boats to the diſtance of three leagues, and it will be neceſſary to ſend a conſiderable force for this purpoſe to the only river where it is to be had, or to leave a detachment there in intrenchments; which being at a diſtance from the camp, without communication or ſupport, will be in perpetual danger of being cut off.

Previous to the attack of the Moro, the enemy muſt make themſelves maſters of the Cavagna, which has been lately built. It is a crown work, compoſed of a baſtion, two curtains, and two demi-baſtions in front. Its right and left lie upon the bank of the harbour. It has caſemates, reſervoirs of water, and powder magazines that are bomb-proof; a good covered way, and a wide ditch cut in the rock. The way which leads to it is compoſed of ſtones and pebbles, without any mixture of earth. The Cavagna is placed on an eminence which commands the Moro, but is itſelf expoſed to attacks from a hill which is of an equal height, and not more than three hundred paces diſtant from it. As it would be eaſy for an enemy to open their trenches under the cover of this hill, the Spaniards intend to level it; after which the Cavagna may extend its view and its batteries to a great diſtance. If the garriſon ſhould find them-

ſelves ſo preſt, as not to be able to maintain its poſt, it would blow up its works, which are all undermined, and retreat into the Moro, the communication with which cannot poſſibly be cut off.

THE famous fortreſs of the Moro had towards the ſea, on which ſide it is impregnable, two baſtions; and on the land ſide two others, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. Since it was taken, it has been entirely rebuilt, and its parapets made higher and thicker. A good covered way has been added, and every thing that was wanting to ſecure the garriſon and the ſtores. It is not eaſier to open trenches before this place than the Cavagna. Both of them are built with a ſoft ſtone, which will be leſs dangerous to the defenders than the common ſort of free-ſtone.

INDEPENDENT of theſe advantages, the two fortreſſes have in their favour a climate extremely hazardous to beſiegers, and an eaſy communication with the town for receiving all ſorts of proviſions, without a poſſibility of being intercepted. Thus circumſtanced, theſe two places may be conſidered as impregnable, at leaſt as very difficult to be taken, provided they are properly ſtocked with proviſions, and defended with courage and ability. The preſervation of them is of ſo much greater importance, as their loſs would neceſſarily occaſion the ſurrender of the harbour and town, which are both of them commanded and may be battered from theſe eminences.

AFTER having explained the difficulties of taking the Havannah by attacking the Moro, we muſt next

ſpeak

ſpeak of thoſe which muſt be encountered on the ſide of the town.

It is ſituated near the bottom of the harbour. It was defended, as well towards the harbour as to the country, by a dry wall, which was good for nothing, and twenty-one baſtions, which were not much better. It had a dry ditch, and of little depth. Before this ditch was a kind of covered way almoſt in ruins. The place, in this ſtate, could not have reſiſted a ſudden attempt, which had it been made in the night, and ſupported by ſeveral attacks, true or falſe, would certainly have carried it. It is propoſed at preſent to make wide and deep ditches, and to add an exceeding good covered way.

These neceſſary defences will be ſupported by the fort at the point; which is a ſquare, built of ſtone, and, though ſmall, is provided with caſemates. It has been rebuilt, having been very much damaged during the ſiege. There is a good dry ditch round it, dug out of the rock. Independent of its principal deſtination, which is to co-operate with the Moro in defending the port, and for which it is perfectly well calculated; it has ſeveral batteries, which open upon the country, and flank ſome parts of the town wall.

Its fire croſſes that of a fort of four baſtions, which has a ditch, covered way, powder magazine, caſemates, and reſervoirs of water. This new fortification, which is erected at three quarters of a mile from the place, on an eminence called Aroſtigny, will require a ſiege in form, if the town is

to be attacked on that ſide, particularly as it is ſo conſtructed as to have a view of the ſea, to command a conſiderable tract on the land ſide, and to diſturb an enemy exceedingly in getting water, which they muſt fetch from its neighbourhood.

In ſkirting the city onward, we come to the fort Dalteres, which has been conſtructed ſince the ſiege. It is of ſtone, has four baſtions, a covered way, a half moon before the gate, a wide ditch, a good rampart, reſervoirs, caſemates, and a powder magazine. It is barely three quarters of a mile diſtant from the town, and is ſituated on the other ſide of a river and an impracticable moraſs, which cover it in that direction. The riſing ground upon which it is built, is entirely occupied by it, and has been inſulated by the digging of a broad ditch, into which the ſea has a paſſage from the bottom of the harbour. Beſides its commanding the communication between the town and the interior part of the iſland, it defends the circuit of the place by croſſing its fires with thoſe of Aroſtigny. The Spaniards are going to conſtruct a large redoubt in the interval of theſe two forts, which will be an additional protection to the town. The Dalteres alſo croſſes its fire with that of the Moro, which is very high, and ſituated at the extreme point of the fort.

Such a continuation of works, which will require a garriſon of four thouſand men, and may be finiſhed in two or three years, coſt Spain immenſe ſums. The purchaſe of the mere materials coſt her at firſt ten millions *; the employment of them annually

* Above 430,000*l.* ſterling.

annually amounts to ſix or ſeven *. Four thouſand blacks in the ſervice of the government, and a number of Mexicans, condemned to the public works, are the inſtruments of this undertaking. They might have haſtened the end of the toils of ſo many victims, if they would have permitted the troops to take a ſhare of the burthen, which they wiſhed, as a means to reſcue them from that dreadful indigence under which they languiſh.

If it were allowable to form an opinion upon a ſubject, which our profeſſion does not give us a right to underſtand, we might venture to aſſert, that when all theſe works ſhall be finiſhed, thoſe who would undertake the ſiege of the Havannah, ſhould begin by the Cavagna and the Moro; becauſe, theſe forts once taken, the town muſt of courſe ſurrender, or be deſtroyed by the artillery of the Moro. On the contrary, if they ſhould determine for the town ſide, the beſiegers would ſcarcely find themſelves in a better condition, even after they had taken it. Indeed, they would have it in their power to deſtroy the dock-yards, and the ſhips that might happen to be in the harbour; but this would produce no permanent advantage. In order to eſtabliſh themſelves, they muſt ſtill be obliged to take the Cavagna and the Moro, which in all probability they would find impoſſible, after the loſs they muſt have ſuſtained in the attack of the town and its fortreſſes.

* About 285,000l. on an average.

But whatever plan may be purſued in the ſiege of this place, the aſſailants will not only have to combat the numerous garriſon incloſed within its works; there will be a corps likewiſe, which will take the field, and continually interrupt their operations. This ſmall army will be compoſed of two ſquadrons of European dragoons, well mounted, armed and diſciplined, and a company of a hundred migrelets. To theſe may be added all the inhabitants of the iſland, whites, mulattoes, and free negroes, who are regimented to the number of ten thouſand men; but, as the greateſt part of them have no idea of diſcipline, they would only create confuſion. This, however, will not be the caſe with a regiment of cavalry of four ſquadrons, and ſeven battalions of militia, which, ſince the peace, they have accuſtomed to perform their manœuvres with aſtoniſhing regularity. Theſe troops armed, cloathed, and accoutred at the expence of the government, and paid in time of war upon the footing of regulars, are trained and commanded by majors, ſerjeants, and corporals ſent from Europe, and picked from the moſt diſtinguiſhed regiments. The forming of this militia coſts an immenſe ſum. Whether their ſervice will be anſwerable to the expence is the queſtion, which future events alone can determine. But whatever may be the military ſpirit of theſe troops, we may pronounce beforehand, that this eſtabliſhment, in a political view, is inexcuſable; and for the following reaſons:

The project of making ſoldiers of all the coloniſts of Cuba, a moſt unjuſt and deſtructive project

ject to all colonies, has been purſued with uncommon ardour. The violence they have been forced to uſe with the inhabitants, to make them ſubmit to exerciſes which they were averſe from, has produced no other effects than that of increaſing their natural love of repoſe. They deteſt thoſe mechanical and forced movements, which, not contributing in any reſpect to their happineſs, appear doubly inſupportable; not to mention their ſeeming frightful or ridiculous to a people, who probably think they have no intereſt in defending a government by which they are oppreſt. This unwillingneſs to exert themſelves, extends even to the labour, which is neceſſary for cultivating their lands. They have entirely left off clearing, planting, and tilling for a nation, which regards them in no other light than as labourers. The eſtabliſhment of the militia too put a ſtop to agriculture. Thoſe productions which were gradually improving have diminiſhed, and will be totally loſt, if Spain continues obſtinately to purſue a pernicious ſyſtem, which falſe principles have induced her to adopt. The rage of keeping up an army; that madneſs, which, under pretence of preventing wars, encourages them; which, by introducing deſpotiſm into governments, paves the way for rebellion among the people; which, continually dragging the inhabitant from his dwelling, and the huſbandman from his field, extinguiſhes in them the love of their country, by driving them from their home; which overſets nations and carries them over land and ſea; that mercenary profeſſion

of

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of war, ſo different from the truly military ſpirit, ſooner or later will be the ruin of Europe; but much ſooner of the colonies, and perhaps, firſt of all, of thoſe which belong to Spain.

The moſt extenſive and moſt fertile part of the American Archipelago is poſſeſſed by the Spaniard. Theſe iſlands, in the hands of an induſtrious nation, would have proved a ſource of unbounded wealth. In their preſent ſtate, they are vaſt foreſts, exhibiting only a frightful ſolitude. Far from contributing to the ſtrength and riches of the kingdom they belong to, they ſerve only to weaken and to exhauſt it by the expences required to maintain them. If Spain had attended properly to the political improvements of other nations, ſhe would have diſcovered that ſeveral of them owed their influence ſolely to the advantages they have drawn from iſlands, in every reſpect inferior to thoſe which have hitherto only ſerved the ignominious purpoſe of ſwelling the liſt of the numberleſs and uſeleſs poſſeſſions of the Spaniſh crown. She would have learned, that there is no other rational foundation of colonies, eſpecially of thoſe which have no mines, but agriculture.

The Spaniards not incapable, as is ſuppoſed, of bringing their colonies to great perfection.

It is not doing juſtice to the Spaniards to ſuppoſe, that they are naturally incapable of labour. If we give the leaſt attention to the exceſſive fatigues which thoſe of them who are concerned in contraband trade ſubmit to with the utmoſt patience, we ſhall find that their toils are infinitely more grievous than any that attend the management of a plantation. If they neglect to enrich themſelves

themſelves by agriculture, it is the fault of their government. If they were once freed from the tyranny of monopolies; if they were permitted to buy the implements of huſbandry at a moderate rate; if the produce of their cultivation was not ſubject to ſuch exorbitant duties; if they were not oppreſt as ſoon as it is found that they begin to be ſucceſsful; if induſtry was not looked upon as a dangerous virtue; if intereſted individuals were not permitted to exerciſe an abſolute and venal authority over them; they would throw off that habit of indolence and inactivity, by which Spain is almoſt annihilated. It is aſtoniſhing that a kingdom, which, under Charles the Vth, was as it were the head, which directed all the motions of Europe, ſhould now be a feeble and lifeleſs part of it; and that a ſtate, which makes the principal figure in the map of our continent, ſhould make the moſt contemptible one in the hiſtory of it.

If Spain would recover from her infatuation, let her ſupport her coloniſts. The treaſures of Mexico and Peru are at hand to give riches to the iſlands; and the generous aſſiſtance will be amply paid. All the productions of the new world require a capital in advance: ſugar in particular demands a large fund, and the returns are proportionable to it. There is not a ſingle inhabitant at Trinidad, Margaretta, Porto-Rico, or St. Domingo, capable of the undertaking; and there are not above thirty at Cuba. All theſe unemployed, drooping coloniſts, ſeem to join in one common petition to the mother-country, for means to ſhake off the lethargy

in

in which they are plunged. Alas! might the diſintereſted hiſtorian, who neither ſeeks nor deſires any thing but the general good of mankind, be permitted to furniſh them with thoſe ſentiments and expreſſions, which the habit of ſloth, the rigour of government, and prejudices of every kind ſeem to have precluded them from the uſe of: thus would he in their name addreſs the court of Madrid, and the whole Spaniſh nation.

"REFLECT on what we aſk from you, and ſee, "if you will not reap a centuple advantage by the "valuable commodities we ſhall ſupply to your "now expiring commerce. Your navy, in-"creaſed by our labours, will form the only bul-"wark that can preſerve to you thoſe poſſeſſions, "which are now ready to eſcape from your hands. "As we become more rich, our conſumption will "be the greater; and then the country, which "you inhabit, and which droops with you, though "nature herſelf invites it to fertility; thoſe plains, "which preſent to your eyes only a deſert ſpace, "and are a diſgrace to your laws and to your man-"ners, will be converted into fields of plenty. "Your native land will flouriſh by induſtry and "agriculture, which have now forſaken you. The "ſprings of life and activity, which ye will have "conveyed to us through the channel of the ſea, "will flow back, and encompaſs your dwellings "with rivers of abundance. But if ye are inſen-"ſible to our complaints and misfortunes; if ye do "not govern us for our ſakes; if we are only the "victims of our loyalty; recall to your minds that

"ever

"ever celebrated æra, in which a nation of unfor-
"tunate and diſcontented ſubjects ſhook off the
"yoke of your dominion; and by their labours,
"their ſucceſs, and their opulence, juſtified their
"revolt in the eyes of the whole world. They
"have been free near two centuries; and ſhall we
"ſtill have to lament, that we are governed by
"you? When Holland broke in pieces the rod of
"iron, which cruſhed her; when ſhe roſe from
"the depth of the waters to rule over the ſea;
"heaven, without doubt, raiſed her up as a monu-
"ment of freedom, to point out to the nations of
"the world the path of happineſs, and to intimi-
"date faithleſs kings who would exclude them
"from it."

In effect, this commonwealth, which hath for a long time ſtood upon an equality with the greateſt monarchies, roſe to that height in part by the proſperity of her colonies. What means ſhe hath purſued to attain this end, we are now to conſider.

The Dutch eſtabliſh themſelves at Curaſſou, St, Euſtatia, Saba and St. Martin, The uſe of theſe ſmall iſlands.

Before the diſcovery of the weſtern coaſt of Africa, the paſſage to India by the cape of Good Hope, and particularly before the diſcovery of America, the European nations ſcarcely knew, or viſited each other, except in making barbarous incurſions, the aim of which was plunder, and the conſequence, deſtruction. Excepting a ſmall number of tyrants, who, by oppreſſing the weak, found means to ſupport a luxury dearly purchaſed, all the inhabitants of the different ſtates were obliged to content themſelves with the meagre ſubſiſtence furniſhed them by lands ill cultivated, and a trade

which extended only to the frontiers of each province. Thoſe great events towards the end of the fifteenth century, which form one of the moſt brilliant epochas of the hiſtory of the world, did not produce ſo ſudden a change of manners as might naturally be ſuppoſed. Some of the Hanſe-towns and ſome Italian republics, it is true, ventured as far as Cadiz and Liſbon, which were become great marts, to purchaſe the rare and valuable productions of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; but the conſumption was very ſmall through the inability of the ſeveral nations to pay for them. Moſt of them were languiſhing in a ſtate of abſolute lethargy; they were totally ignorant of the advantages and reſources of the countries that belonged to them.

To rouze them from this ſtate of inſenſibility, there was wanting a people, who, ſpringing from nothing, ſhould inſpire activity and intelligence into every mind, and diffuſe plenty through every market; that ſhould offer the produce of all countries at a lower price, and exchange the ſuperfluities of every nation for thoſe commodities which they want; that ſhould give a quick circulation to produce merchandiſe and money; and, by facilitating and increaſing conſumption, ſhould encourage population, agriculture, and every branch of induſtry. For all theſe advantages, Europe is indebted to the Dutch. The blind multitude may be excuſed in confining themſelves to the enjoyment of their proſperity, without knowing the ſources of it; but it is incumbent on the philoſopher and the politician to tranſmit to poſterity the fame of the benefactors

of

of mankind; and to trace out, if it be poſſible, the progreſs of their beneficence.

When the generous inhabitants of the United Provinces freed themſelves from the dominion of the ſea and of tyranny, they perceived that they could not fix the foundation of their liberty on a ſoil which did not afford the neceſſaries of life. They were convinced, that commerce, which to moſt nations is no more than an acceſſion, a means only of increaſing the quantity and value of the produce of their reſpective countries, was to them the ſole baſis of their exiſtence. Without territory and without productions, they determined to give a value to thoſe of other nations; ſatisfied that their own would be the reſult of the general proſperity. The event juſtified their policy.

Their firſt ſtep was to eſtabliſh, among the nations of Europe, an exchange of the commodities of the north with thoſe of the ſouth. In a ſhort time the ſea was covered with the ſhips of Holland. In her ports were collected all the commercial effects of different countries, and from thence they were diſperſed to their reſpective deſtinations. Here the value of every thing was regulated, and with a moderation which precluded all competition. The ambition of giving greater ſtability and extent to her enterpriſes excited in the republic a ſpirit of conqueſt. Her empire extended itſelf over a part of the Indian continent, and over all the iſlands of conſequence in the ſea that encompaſſes it. By her fortreſſes or her fleets, ſhe kept in ſubjection the coaſts of Africa; towards which her

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her ambition, ever directed to useful objects, had turned its attentive and prudent views. But her laws were no where acknowledged except in the countries belonging to America, where cultivation had sowed the seeds of real wealth. The immense chain of her connections embraced the universe, of which, by toil and industry, she became the soul. In a word, she had attained the universal monarchy of commerce.

Such was the state of the United Provinces in 1661, when the Portuguese, recovering themselves from that languor and inaction which the tyranny of Spain had thrown them into, found means to repossess themselves of that part of Brasil which the Dutch had taken from them. From this first stroke, that republic would have lost all footing in the new world, had it not been for a few small islands; particularly that of Curassou, which they had taken from the Castilians, who had been in possession of it ever since 1527.

This rock, which is not above three leagues off the coast of Venezuela, is about ten leagues long and five broad. It has an excellent harbour, but the entrance is difficult. The bason is extremely large, and convenient in every respect; and is defended by a fort skilfully constructed and always kept in good repair.

The French, in 1673, having corrupted the commandant, landed there to the number of five or six hundred men: but the treason having been discovered, and the traitor punished, they met with a very different reception from what they expected,

and

and reimbarked with the diſgrace of having expoſed only their own weakneſs, and the iniquity of their meaſures.

Lewis the XIV. whoſe pride was hurt by this check, ſent out d'Eſtrees five years after with eighteen ſhips of war, and twelve buccaneering veſſels, to wipe off the ſtain, which in his eyes tarniſhed the glory of a reign filled with wonders. The admiral was not far from the place of his deſtination, when by his raſhneſs and obſtinacy he ran his ſhips aground on Davis's iſland; and, after collecting the ſhattered remains of his fleet, returned in very bad condition to Breſt, without having attempted any thing.

From this period neither Curaſſou, nor the little iſlands Aruba and Bonaire, which are dependent on it, have met with any diſturbance. No nation has thought of ſeizing upon a barren ſpot, where they could find only a few cattle, ſome manioc, ſome vegetables proper to feed ſlaves, and not one article for commerce.

St. Euſtatia is of very little more conſequence. This iſland, which is about five leagues in circumference, is properly nothing but a ſteep mountain riſing out of the ſea in the form of a cone. It has no port, and is confined to a bay, which does not ſtrictly belong to it. Some Frenchmen, who had been driven from St. Chriſtopher's, took refuge there in 1629, and abandoned the place ſome time after; becauſe, beſides the barrenneſs of the rock, there was no freſh water, but what they got from rain collected in ciſterns. The exact time of their quitting it is not known; but it is certain, that in 1639

the Dutch were in poſſeſſion of it. They were afterwards driven out by the Engliſh, and theſe by Lewis the XIVth, who cauſed his right of conqueſt to be recognized in the negotiation of Breda, and would not liſten to the repreſentations of the republic, with which he was then in alliance, and which preſſed ſtrongly for the reſtitution of this iſland, as having been in poſſeſſion of it before the war. When the ſigning of the peace had put an end to theſe repreſentations, the French monarch, whoſe pride more readily ſubmitted to the dictates of generoſity than of juſtice, thought it not conſiſtent with his dignity to take advantage of the misfortunes of his friends. He of his own accord reſtored to the Dutch their iſland, although he knew that it was a natural fortreſs, which might be of ſervice in defending that part of St. Chriſtopher's which belonged to him.

St. Euſtatia produces ſome tobacco, and near ſix hundred thouſand weight of ſugar. The number of imhabitants, employed in agriculture, conſiſts of one hundred and twenty white, and twelve hundred black people: the traders amount to about five hundred white perſons; and to twelve or fifteen hundred, whenever this place has the happineſs of being neuter in time of war.

Notwithstanding its weakneſs, it has ſpared ſome of its number to people a neighbouring iſland, known by the name of Saba. This is a ſteep rock, on the ſummit of which is a little ground, very proper for gardening. Frequent rains which do not lie any time on the ſoil, give growth to plants of an exquiſite flavour, and cabbages of an extraordinary

extraordinary ſize. Fifty European families, with about one hundred and fifty ſlaves, here raiſe cotton, ſpin it, make ſtockings of it, and ſell them to other colonies as high as ten crowns * a pair. Throughout America there is no blood ſo pure as that of Saba; the women there preſerve a freſhneſs of complexion, which is not to be found in any other of the Caribbee iſlands. Happy colony! elevated on the top of a rock, between the ſky and ſea, it enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading their ſtorms; it breathes a pure air, lives upon vegetables, cultivates a ſimple commodity, from which it derives eaſe without the temptation of riches; is employed in labours leſs troubleſome than uſeful, and poſſeſſes in peace all the bleſſings of moderation, health, beauty, and liberty. This is the temple of peace, from whence the philoſopher may contemplate at leiſure the errors and paſſions of men, who come, like the waves of the ſea, to ſtrike and daſh themſelves on the rich coaſts of America, the ſpoils and poſſeſſion of which they are perpetually contending for, and wreſting from each other: hence may he view at a diſtance the nations of Europe bearing thunder in the midſt of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the heats of the tropics, devouring gold without ever being ſatisfied, wading through ſeas of blood to amaſs thoſe metals, thoſe pearls, thoſe diamonds, which are uſed to adorn the oppreſſors of mankind; loading innumerable ſhips

* 11. 6s. 3d.

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ſhips with thoſe precious caſks, which furniſh luxury with purple, and from which flow pleaſures, effeminacy, cruelty, and debauchery. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this maſs of follies, and ſpins in peace the cotton, which conſtitutes all his finery and wealth.

UNDER the ſame climate lies the iſland of St. Martin, which is about fifteen or ſixteen leagues round, and contains a conſiderable number of hills, which are ſo many rocks covered with heath. The ſandy ſoil of its plains and vallies, which is in itſelf barren, can only be rendered fruitful by ſhowers, which happen ſeldom, and are leſs beneficial in proportion as they are exhaled by the ſun, or drain off from the places where they fall. With ſome care, theſe caſual refreſhments might be preſerved in reſervoirs, and diſtributed from thence ſo as to produce plenty. As to the reſt, this iſland, which has no river, is furniſhed with ſprings and ciſterns, which ſupply the inhabitants with very good water. The air is very wholeſome, the coaſt abounds with fiſh, the ſea is ſeldom tempeſtuous, and there is ſafe anchorage all round the iſland.

THE Dutch and French, who met there in 1638, lived in peace, but ſeparate from each other, when the Spaniards, who were at war with both nations, choſe to attack them in their new ſettlement; beat them, made them priſoners, and took poſſeſſion of the place themſelves: but the conqueror ſoon grew weary of an eſtabliſhment which brought no profit, and coſt 400,000 livres* a year. He therefore

* About 17,500l. ſterling.

fore quitted it in 1648, after having deſtroyed every thing he could not carry away with him.

THESE devaſtations did not hinder the former poſſeſſors from returning to the iſland as ſoon as they knew that it was evacuated. They mutually agreed never to diſturb each other's peace, and have preſerved inviolably this engagement, which was equally for the advantage of both. The diſputes between their reſpective nations did not in the leaſt alter theſe diſpoſitions; and an uninterrupted peace reigned among them till the year 1757, when the French were driven out by the commander of an Engliſh privateer, named Cook; but they returned again as ſoon as hoſtilities ceaſed.

OF about fifty thouſand acres of land, which this iſland contains, thirty-five thouſand belong to the French. This great extent would employ ten thouſand perſons; and it is not improbable, that the progreſs of cultivation may one day increaſe their numbers to that amount, if the rigour of our governments in Europe ſhould give birth to liberty in America. In 1753 there were not more than one hundred and two white inhabitants, and one hundred and eighty-five ſlaves. Their cattle conſiſted of thirty-ſeven horſes, ninety-one bulls and cows, 315 ſheep, and 458 goats. For their ſubſiſtence they cultivated 17,500 banana-trees, eighty-four plots of yams or potatoes, and 82,000 trenches of manioc. The produce of 425,600 cotton trees was all they had to trade with.

THE line of ſeparation, drawn from eaſt to weſt, which confines the Dutch within a ſmaller compaſs,

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has made them ample amends, by giving them poſſeſſion of the only port in the iſland, and of a large ſalt-pit, which brings them in annually two hundred thouſand crowns *. They have, beſides theſe, their ſugar works, which employ three thouſand ſlaves: their labour, however, never turns to account but in wet ſeaſons.

Both colonies have of late taken up the cultivation of coffee with good ſucceſs. This article may, perhaps, in time ſet them above their difficulties; a proſpect, which at preſent is more diſtant to the French than to the Dutch.

The ſettlements of the latter in the great Archipelago of America, do not thus far upon the firſt view preſent any thing curious or intereſting. Their produce, which is ſcarcely ſufficient to freight four or five moderate veſſels, ſeems not worth any degree of attention; and they would accordingly have been conſigned to oblivion, if ſome of them, which are of no conſequence in cultivation, were not very conſiderable in commerce. This is to be underſtood of St. Euſtatia and Curaſſou.

The deſire of forming a contraband intercouſe with the Spaniſh main, was the cauſe of the conqueſt of Curaſſou. In a ſhort time a great number of Dutch ſhips arrived there: they were of force, and well equipped; their crews conſiſted of choice men, whoſe courage was ſeconded by their intereſt. Each of them had a ſhare in the cargo, which he was reſolved to defend at the riſque of his life againſt the attacks of the guarda-coſtas.

After

* 26,250 l.

After a time, the method of carrying on this trade was changed. Curaſſou itſelf became an immenſe magazine, to which the Spaniards reſorted in their boats to exchange their gold, ſilver, vanilla, cocoa, cochineal, bark, ſkins, and mules, for negroes, linen, ſilks, India ſtuffs, ſpices, laces, ribbands, quickſilver, ſteel, and iron ware. Theſe voyages, though they were continual, did not prevent a multitude of Dutch ſloops from paſſing from their iſland to the creeks on the continent. The wants, the ſupplies, the labours, and the voyages of the two nations were reciprocal, and made their coaſts a moſt active ſcene of trade, though they were rivals in commerce, and equally covetous of gain. The modern ſubſtitution of regiſter-ſhips, in the place of galleons, has made this communication leſs frequent; but it will be revived, and even increaſed, whenever by the intervention of war the immediate communication with the Spaniſh main ſhall be cut off.

The diſputes between the courts of London and Verſailles open a new ſphere of action for Curaſſou. At theſe times it furniſhes proviſions to all the ſouthern coaſt of St. Domingo, and takes off all its produce. This trade will increaſe in proportion to the progreſs that part of the French colony ſhall make, and of which it has conſiderable opportunities. Even the French privateers from the Windward iſlands repair in great numbers to Curaſſou in the times of hoſtilities, notwithſtanding the diſtance. The reaſon is, that they find there all kinds of neceſſary ſtores for their

veſſels; and frequently Spaniſh, but always European goods, which are univerſally uſed. Engliſh privateers ſeldom cruize in theſe parts.

EVERY commodity, without exception, that is landed at Curaſſou, pays one per cent. port-duty. Dutch goods are never taxed higher: but thoſe that are ſhipped from other European ports, pay nine per cent. more. Foreign coffee is ſubject to the ſame tax, in order to promote the ſale of that of Surinam. Every other production of America is ſubject only to a payment of three per cent. but with an expreſs ſtipulation, that they are to be conveyed directly to ſome port of the republic.

ST. Euſtatia was formerly ſubject to the ſame impoſitions as Curaſſou; but they were taken off at the beginning of the late war. It derived this benefit from its neighbourhood to the Daniſh iſland of St. Thomas, which being a free port, engroſſed a great part of its trade. Under the preſent regulation, its contraband trade in time of peace is chiefly confined to the barter of Engliſh cod for the molaſſes and rums of the French iſlands.

A ſtate of hoſtility between the courts of London and Verſailles opens a very large field to St. Euſtatia; which is enriched by their diviſions. In the laſt war it became the ſtaple of almoſt all the merchandiſe of the French colonies, and the general magazine of ſupply for them. But this great operation was not conducted ſingly by the Dutch: both Engliſh and French united in the harbour of this iſland, to form, under ſhelter of its neutrality, commercial engagements. A Dutch paſſport, which

which coſt 252 livres *, and was granted without inquiring of what nation the perſon was who applied for it, kept their connections from public view. This great liberty gave riſe to numberleſs tranſactions between perſons very ſingularly ſituated with regard to each other. Thus commerce found the art of pacifying or eluding the vigilance of diſcord.

But the Dutch, who are equally maſters of the art of converting either the good or bad fortune of others to their own profit, are not confined to the temporary advantages of a precarious trade in the new world. They are in poſſeſſion of a large territory, which they cultivate, on the continent. It is ſeparated from the French Guiana by the river Marazoni, and by that of Poumaran from Spaniſh Guiana; and known by the name of Surinam, the moſt ancient and moſt important ſettlement in the colony.

Dutch ſettlement at Surinam, Berbice, and Eſſequebé.

The foundation of it was laid in 1640, by the French, whoſe activity carried them at that time into a variety of climates, and whoſe fickleneſs ſuffered them not to ſettle in any. They abandoned Surinam a few years after they arrived there, and were ſucceeded by the Engliſh; whoſe diligence began to be attended with ſome ſucceſs, when they were attacked in 1667 by the Dutch, who, finding them diſperſed over a vaſt tract of land, had little difficulty in ſubduing them. Some years after they were, to the number of twelve hundred, tranſported to Jamaica, and the colony was formally ceded to the republic.

Their

* About 11 *l.* ſterling.

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THEIR ſubjects, whoſe ſole occupation was commerce, had not the leaſt taſte for agriculture. Surinam was for ſome time a monument of the prejudices of its new maſters. At length, the company, which governed the country, cut down woods, divided part of the land among the inhabitants, and furniſhed them with ſlaves. All perſons, who were deſirous of occupying theſe lands, obtained grants of them upon an engagement to pay, by inſtallments out of their produce, the price at which each lot was valued: and they had the further privilege of diſpoſing of them to any purchaſer, who would agree to pay whatever part of the original debt remained due.

THE ſucceſs of theſe firſt ſettlements gave riſe to a great number of others. By degrees they extended to twenty leagues diſtance from the mouth of the Surinam, and of the Commenwine, which runs into it; and would have advanced much further, if they had not been checked by the fugitive negroes, who, taking refuge in inacceſſible foreſts, where they have recovered their liberty, never ceaſe to infeſt the back parts of the colony.

THE difficulties which attended the clearing of theſe lands, required that uncommon reſolution which is ready to attempt, and that perſeverance which is capable of ſurmounting every thing. The greateſt part of the lands which were to be made fit for cultivation, were covered with water every tide to the depth of four or five feet. By making great numbers of ditches and ſluices, they ſucceeded in draining them; and thus the glory of

ſetting bounds to the ocean was acquired by the Dutch in the new world, as it had been before in the old. They contrived even to give to their plantations that neatneſs which is every where a characteriſtic of them, and ſuch conveniences as are not to be found in the moſt flouriſhing either of the Engliſh or French ſettlements.

One of the principal circumſtances, to which they owe their ſucceſs, has been the extreme eaſe with which the ſettlers procured money to carry on their works. They raiſed as much as they could make uſe of at the rate of ſix *per cent.* but under an expreſs condition, that their plantations ſhould be mortgaged to their creditors, and that they ſhould be obliged to deliver to them their whole produce at the price current in the colony, till ſuch time as the debt ſhould be entirely paid off.

With the aſſiſtance of theſe loans, they formed upon the banks of the Surinam, or at a little diſtance from it, 425 plantations, upon which, in 1762, were 84,500 blacks, and 4000 white men as overſeers. Among the latter, are included French refugees, Moravians, and a very conſiderable number of Jews. There is, perhaps, no country upon earth where this unhappy nation is ſo well treated. They not only permit them to enjoy the exerciſe of their religion, the propriety of lands, and the determination of diſputes which ariſe among themſelves; they ſuffer them likewiſe to participate of the common rights of citizens, to have a ſhare in the general adminiſtration of affairs, and to vote in the elections of public magiſtrates.

Such

Such is the influence of the ſpirit of trade, that it forces all national and religious prejudices to ſubmit to that general intereſt, which ſhould be the bond of union among mankind. What are thoſe idle nominal diſtinctions of Jews, Lutherans, French, or Dutch? Miſerable inhabitants of a ſpot, which ye cultivate with ſo much toil and ſorrow; are ye not all men? Why then do ye drive each other from a world, where ye live but for an inſtant? And what a life too is it, that ye have the folly and cruelty to diſpute with each other the enjoyment of? Is it not ſufficient, that the elements, the heavens, and even the earth, fight againſt you, but ye muſt add to thoſe ſcourges, with which nature has ſurrounded you, the abuſe of that little ſtrength ſhe has left you to reſiſt them?

PARAMABIRO, the principal place of the colony of Surinam, is a ſmall town pleaſantly ſituated. The houſes are pretty, and convenient; though they are only built of wood upon a foundation of European bricks. Its port, which is five leagues diſtant from the ſea, has every requiſite that can be deſired. It is the rendezvous of all the ſhips diſpatched from the mother-country to receive the produce of the colony.

THE ſucceſs of this eſtabliſhment ſuggeſted in 1732, the idea of forming another upon the river Berbice, which falls into the ſea nineteen leagues weſt of the Surinam. The ſhores at its mouth were ſo marſhy, that they found it neceſſary to go fifteen leagues up the ſtream in order to form plantations on its banks. A nation, that had made even the

ſea

ſea habitable, it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, would yield to ſuch an obſtacle. A new company had the glory of raiſing new productions in a ſoil taken from the bed of the ſea, and the oar gave place to the plough-ſhare.

THE ſame prodigy has ſince been attempted by another aſſociation, and with the ſame ſucceſs on the Demerary and Eſſequebé, which fall into the ſame bay at twenty leagues diſtance from Berbice, and upon the Poumaran, at fifteen leagues from the Eſſequebé, and twenty-five from the principal mouth of the Oronooko. The two laſt colonies will probably ſome time or other equal that of Surinam; but at preſent they do not reckon that there are more than twelve hundred free perſons there, at the head of twenty-eight, or thirty thouſand ſlaves.

Produce of the three ſettlements.

THESE three ſettlements produce exactly the ſame articles; cotton, cocoa, and ſugar. Though the laſt of theſe is much the moſt conſiderable, the quantity does not anſwer either to the number of hands, or the pains they take about it. This defect ariſes, no doubt, from the nature of the ſoil, which is too marſhy, and by its ſuperabundant humidity drowns or waſhes away the vegetable ſalts and juices of the cane. The little profit they made of it induced the planters to turn their thoughts to ſome other object; and, about the beginning of this century, they took up the cultivation of the coffee-tree.

THIS tree, originally the produce of Arabia, where nature, ſcantily ſupplying the neceſſaries of life,

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life, ſcatters its luxuries with a laviſh hand, was long the favourite plant of that happy country. The unſucceſsful attempts made by the Europeans in the cultivation of it, induced them to believe that the inhabitants of that country ſteeped the fruit in boiling water, or dried it in the oven, before they ſold it, in order to ſecure to themſelves a trade from which they derived all their wealth. They continued in this error, till they had conveyed the tree itſelf to Batavia, and afterwards to Surinam; when they were convinced by experience, that the ſeed of the coffee-tree, as well as of many other plants, will never come to any thing, unleſs it is put freſh into the ground.

The fruit of this plant reſembles a cherry. It grows in cluſters, and is ranged along the branches under the axillæ of the leaves, of the ſame green as thoſe of the laurel, but ſomething longer. When it comes to be of a deep red, it is gathered and carried to the mill.

The mill is compoſed of two wooden rollers, furniſhed with two plates of iron, eighteen inches long, and ten or twelve in diameter: theſe are moveable, and are made to approach a third, which is fixt, and which they call the chops. Above the rollers is a hopper, in which they put the coffee, from whence it falls between the rollers and the chops, where it is ſtript of its firſt ſkin, and divided into two parts, as may be ſeen by the form of it after it has undergone this operation, being flat on one ſide, and round on the other. From this machine it falls into a braſs ſieve, where the

the ſkin drops between the wires, while the fruit ſlides over them into baſkets placed ready to receive it: it is then thrown into a veſſel full of water, where it ſoaks for one night, and is afterwards thoroughly waſhed. When the whole is finiſhed, and well dried, it is put into another machine, which is called the peeling-mill. This is a wooden grinder, which is turned vertically upon its trendle by a mule or a horſe. In paſſing over the dried coffee it takes off the parchment, which is nothing but a thin ſkin that detaches itſelf from the berry, in proportion as it grows dry. The parchment being removed, it is taken out of this mill to be winnowed in another, which is called the winnowing-mill. This machine is provided with four pieces of tin fixed upon an axle, which is turned by a ſlave with conſiderable force; and the wind that is made by the motion of theſe plates, clears the coffee of all the pellicles that are mixt with it. It is afterwards put upon a table, where the broken berries, and any filth that may happen to remain, are ſeparated by negroes. After theſe operations the coffee is fit for ſale.

The tree, which produces it, flouriſhes only in thoſe climates where the winters are extremely mild. The curious raiſe them only in hot-houſes, where they water them frequently, and this merely for the pleaſure of ſeeing them.

The coffee-tree delights particularly in hills and mountains, where its root is almoſt always dry, and its head frequently watered with gentle ſhowers. It prefers a weſtern aſpect, and ploughed ground

ground without any appearance of grafs. The plants ſhould be placed at eight feet diſtance from each other, and in holes twelve or fifteen inches deep. If left to themſelves they would riſe to the height of twenty feet; but they are ſtinted to five, for the ſake of gathering their fruit with greater eaſe. Thus dwarft they extend their branches, ſo that they cover the whole ſpot round about them.

The coffee-tree bloſſoms in the months of December, January, and February, according to the temperature of the air or the ſeaſon for rain, and bears in October or November. It begins to yield fruit the third year, but is not in full bearing till the fifth. With the ſame infirmities that moſt other trees are ſubject to, it is likewiſe in danger of being deſtroyed either by a worm, that pierces its root, or by the darting rays of the ſun, which are as fatal to it as to the human ſpecies. The length of its life depends upon the quality of the ſoil it is planted in. The hills where it is chiefly found have a gravelly or chalky bottom. In one of theſe it languiſhes for ſome time, and then dies; in the other, its roots, which ſeldom fail of ſtriking between the ſtones, obtain nouriſhment, invigorate the trunk, and keep the tree alive and fruitful for thirty years.

This is nearly the period for plants of the coffee-tree. The proprietor at the end of this term not only finds himſelf without trees, but has his land ſo reduced, that it is not fit for any kind of culture. One may fairly ſay, he has ſunk his capital for an income of a very ſhort continuance.

If

If his ſituation happens to be in an iſland entirely incloſed and occupied, his loſs is not to be repaired; but upon an open and widely extenſive continent, he may make himſelf amends for a ſpot totally exhauſted by a tract of unappropriated and unbroken virgin land, which it is at his own option to clear. This advantage has contributed amazingly to multiply the coffee plantations in that part of Guiana that belongs to the Dutch.

The ſingle colony of Surinam furniſhed in 1768 one hundred thouſand weight of cotton, two hundred thouſand of cocoa, fourteen millions of coffee, and twenty-eight millions ſix hundred thouſand of raw ſugar. Seventy ſhips were freighted with theſe commodities to bring them to the mother country. It is not poſſible for us to determine with the ſame preciſion the produce of the other colonies; but we ſhall not be very wide of the truth in ſetting it at one fourth part. It may and will increaſe conſiderably. Every ſpecies of cultivation, they have yet undertaken, will be extended and improved. They will, perhaps, attempt new ones; at leaſt, they will reſume that of indigo, which a few unſucceſsful experiments induced them to abandon without ſufficient reaſon.

It is true, that the coaſt, which is ſeventy-ſix leagues in extent, does not afford a ſingle ſpot for plantation. The land throughout is low and always under water. But the great rivers, upon which ſettlements have begun to be made, and the leaſt of which is navigable for more than thirty leagues, give a ſtrong invitation to enterpriſing men to come and enrich themſelves on their banks.

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The country that lies between theſe, is fruitful and watered by ſmaller rivers, which are, however, large enough to carry ſloops. The only obſtacle to great ſucceſs is the climate. The year is divided between continual rains and exceſſive heats. The crops, which coſt the planters vaſt pains to raiſe, are not to be preſerved, without the utmoſt difficulty, from ſwarms of diſguſting reptiles: and they themſelves are expoſed ſucceſſively to the languors of the dropſy, and to fevers of every kind.

This is undoubtedly the reaſon which has induced the principal proprietors of Dutch Guiana to reſide in Europe. There are ſcarcely to be found in the colony any inhabitants, but the factors of theſe wealthy men, and ſuch proprietors, whoſe fortunes are too moderate to admit of their intruſting the care of their plantations to other hands. For this reaſon, their conſumption cannot be large: accordingly the veſſels, which are ſent from the mother country to bring home their produce, carry out nothing but abſolute neceſſaries; at leaſt, if there are ever any articles of luxury, it is but ſeldom. Even this ſcanty ſupply the Dutch traders are forced to ſhare with the Engliſh of North-America.

Thoſe foreigners were at firſt admitted only becauſe the colony was under a neceſſity of purchaſing horſes of them. The difficulty of breeding, and, perhaps, other cauſes, have eſtabliſhed this permiſſion. The bringing horſes is ſo indiſpenſable a paſſport for the men, that a ſhip which does

not

not carry a number proportioned to its ſize is not admitted into their harbours. But if the horſes happen to die in the paſſage, it is ſufficient that their heads are produced; which entitles the owners to expoſe to ſale other commodities, with which they may have ſtocked themſelves in lieu of their horſes. There is a law forbidding payments to be made otherwiſe than by barter of molaſſes and rum; but this law is little attended to. The Engliſh, who have uſurped the right of importing thither whatever they pleaſe, take care to export the moſt valuable commodities of the colony, and even exact payments in money or bills of exchange on Europe. Such is the law of force, which republics apply, not only to other nations, but to each other. The Engliſh treat the Dutch pretty much in the ſame manner as the Athenians did the people of Melos. *It has ever been the caſe*, ſaid they to the inhabitants of that iſland, *that the weakeſt ſubmits to the ſtrongeſt: this law is not of our making; it is as old as the world, and will ſubſiſt as long as the world endures.* This argument, which is ſo well calculated to ſuit the purpoſes of injuſtice, brought Athens in its turn under the dominion of Sparta, and at length deſtroyed it by the hands of the Romans.

Dangers, to which the Dutch colonies are expoſed.

VARIOUS are the opinions with reſpect to the dangers which Dutch Guiana may be expoſed to. It ſhall be our buſineſs to obtain ſome fixed idea on this important point. In the firſt inſtance, an invaſion by any of the European powers, would be eaſily effected. Their largeſt ſhips could enter the river Poumaran, the mouth of which has ſeven or

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eight fathom depth of water, which goes, continually increaſing, to forty fathom, at the diſtance of four or five leagues. The little fort of New Zeland, which protects the banks, could not ſtand their artillery for two hours. The entrance of the Demerary, which has from eighteen to twenty and twenty-four fathom of water, and has not leſs than fifteen or ſixten through the ſpace of four leagues, and is totally defenceleſs, would be ſtill more eaſy. The outlet of the Eſſequebé, which is three leagues in breadth, is filled with ſmall iſlands and ſhallows; but here, as well as all along the courſe of the river, are found channels deep enough to bring the largeſt ſhips up to an iſland ten leagues diſtant from the ſea, and defended only by a miſerable redoubt. And though the river Berbice, which is one league broad, can ſcarcely admit the ſmalleſt veſſels, they would carry ſufficient force to reduce Fort Naſſau, and the ſcattered ſettlements on both its banks. All the weſtern part of Dutch Guiana is ſcarcely in a condition to reſiſt the attack of an enterpriſing cruizer; but would infallibly be obliged to capitulate on the ſight of the moſt contemptible ſquadron.

The eaſtern part, which, by its wealth, is expoſed to greater danger, is better defended. The entrance of the Surinam river is not very practicable, on account of its ſand-bank. Ships, however, that do not draw more than twenty feet water, can come in at flood. At two leagues from its outlet, the Commenwine joins the Surinam. This point of union the Dutch have principally fortifi-

fortified. They have erected a battery on the Surinam, another on the right bank of the Commenwine, and on the left bank, a citadel called Amsterdam. These works form a triangle; and their fires, which cross each other, are contrived to have the double effect of preventing ships from proceeding further up one river, and from entering into the other. The fortress is situated in the middle of a small morass, and is inaccessible, except by a narrow causeway entirely commanded by the artillery. It requires no more than eight or nine hundred men to garrison it completely. It is flanked with four bastions, and surrounded with a mud rampart, a wide ditch full of water, and a good covered way: for the rest, it is unprovided with powder magazines, has no vaults, nor any kind of casemate. Three leagues higher up on the Surinam is a close battery, intended to cover the harbour and town of Parambiro. It is called, Fort Zeland. A battery of the same kind, which they call Sommeswelt-fort, covers the Commenwine at nearly the same distance. The forces of the colony consist of its militia and twelve hundred regulars; one half of whose pay is supplied by the inhabitants, and the other by the company.

This number of men would be more than sufficient, if they had nothing to guard against but the efforts of the natives. The few savages, who endeavoured to keep possession of places that suited the Dutch, have been exterminated. The rest kept retreating further into the inland parts, in proportion as they found the Europeans encroaching

ing upon them; and live quietly in thoſe woods, which, by ſerving them as an aſylum, are become as dear to them as the country from which they have been driven.

But the colony has not the ſame degree of ſecurity with reſpect to the negroes. When theſe miſerable creatures, who are brought from Africa, are expoſed to ſale, they are placed one after another upon a table, and examined with the moſt minute attention by a ſurgeon employed by the government. According to his report, the prices of them are ſettled, and the money is uſually paid at the end of three weeks. The purchaſer, however, has four and twenty hours allowed him to judge from his own obſervation, of the goodneſs of his bargain. If within that time he is diſſatisfied with the choice he has made, he has a right to return what he has taken without any ceremony or indemnification; provided he has not ſet his ſeal upon them. This ſeal is a ſilver plate, on which are engraved the initials of his chriſtian and ſurname: after heating it, they apply it to the arm or breaſt of the ſlave, and the marks thus burned in can never be effaced. The uſe of this barbarous practice is to enable them to diſtinguiſh thoſe whoſe features are not ſufficiently characteriſed for European eyes.

Nothing is more uncommon in the Dutch ſettlements than to ſee a ſlave made free. He cannot obtain his liberty but by becoming a chriſtian; and before they are authoriſed to adminiſter baptiſm to him, they muſt purchaſe letters of freedom, which

coſt four hundred livres *. Security muſt alſo be given for his maintenance during life, leſt he ſhould become a burthen to the company, or ſhould be induced to increaſe the number of the enemies of the colony, which is already too great. When we add to all theſe expences the loſs of the original purchaſe-money, we may ſafely venture to conclude, that the franchiſement of a ſlave cannot be common among a people with whom avarice is the ruling, if not the only paſſion.

The planters here are ſo far from giving way to theſe acts of humanity, that they have carried oppreſſion to infinitely greater lengths, than it has been extended to in the iſlands. The opportunities of deſertion on a continent of immenſe extent is, probably, the cauſe of this extraordinary barbarity towards the blacks. Upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion a ſlave is put to death by his maſter in the preſence of all his companions; but this is done without the knowledge of the white people, who might give evidence againſt them for ſo flagrant a breach of the rights of civil authority. The blacks, not being admitted to give teſtimony, are of no ſort of conſequence. The mother-country winks at this cruelty, and, by its ſhameful connivance, riſques the loſs of an uſeful ſettlement. They have frequently had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to be apprehenſive of a revolution; but the danger was never ſo great nor ſo imminent as in 1763.

In the month of February, 1763, an inſurrection broke out, which by its example and conſequences

* Between 17 *l.* and 18 *l.* ſterling.

might have produced the moſt fatal effects throughout the American ſettlements. Seventy-three blacks aſſembled in one houſe at Berbice, ſuddenly murdered their maſter, and ſet about the cry of liberty. At this ſound, courage and hope revived and animated the whole body of ſlaves. They joined to the number of nine thouſand, and in the firſt tranſports of their rage fell upon all the white people in their way; theſe, with the chief of the colony, were obliged to take refuge on board a brigantine at the lower port of the river. In the mean time five hundred men arrived from Surinam to their aſſiſtance. They made an attempt to land, and intrenched themſelves in an advantageous poſt, till the arrival of ſome troops from Europe.

HAPPILY for the republic, the Engliſh at Barbadoes, who are in poſſeſſion of moſt of the plantations formed on the Poumaran, Demerary, and Eſſequebé, ſent in time a ſufficient force to keep the ſlaves on theſe three rivers in order; and, by a ſtill more fortunate occurrence, the people at Surinam at this very time concluded a treaty they had on foot with the negroes, who had taken refuge in the neighbouring woods. Ignorant as they probably were of a commotion which might have been ſo favourable to them, they conſented not to receive among them any fugitives of their own nation. This ſtipulation deprived the rebels of their principal reſource; and by ſuch a combination of unexpected events, they were reduced again to a ſtate of ſervitude. The greateſt part of them being without arms, they eagerly embraced the offer of a capitulation

capitulation with their maſters. They have, however, given proofs of that inextinguiſhable principle prevailing in their ſouls, which never fails to reſiſt oppreſſion. The tranquillity of Dutch Guiana, like that of all other countries where rebellions have once broke out, is more apparent than real. The ſeeds of treaſon are ripening in ſecret within the foreſts of Auka and Sarmaca.

In theſe deſerts, which are peopled with all the ſlaves who have fled from the yoke of the covetous Hollander, a ſpecies of republic has grown up, compoſed of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, divided into ſeveral villages, each of which chooſes a chief for itſelf. Theſe wandering clans fall unexpectedly ſometimes upon one ſide of the colony, ſometimes upon another, in order to carry off ſupplies for their own ſubſiſtence, and to lay waſte the wealth of their former tyrants. It is in vain that the troops are kept continually upon the watch, to check or to ſurprize ſo dangerous an enemy. By means of private information, they contrive to eſcape every ſnare, and direct their incurſions towards thoſe parts which happen to be left defenceleſs. Conventions and treaties are no ſecurity againſt their attacks.

Reaſons why the Dutch ought to ſecure the poſſeſſion of their colonies, and to encourage the produce of them.

It depends, however, upon the wiſdom and moderation of theſe very republicans, who have rendered the load of ſervitude ſo oppreſſive to the negroes, to prevent a general revolution, of which they would be the firſt victims. They have already been guilty of great overſights. They have not given to their American ſettlements, that attention they deſerved, although they have met with ſtrokes

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ſo ſevere, and ſo cloſely following upon each other, as ought to have opened their eyes. If they had not been blinded by the rapidity of their ſucceſs, they would have diſcovered the beginning of their ruin in the loſs of Brazil. Deprived of that vaſt acquiſition, which in their hands might have become the firſt colony of the univerſe, and might have atoned for the weakneſs or inſufficiency of their territory in Europe, they ſaw themſelves reduced to the condition they were in before they had made this conqueſt, of being factors for other nations; and thus was created, in their maſs of real wealth, a void which hath never ſince been filled up.

The conſequences of the act of navigation, paſſed in England, were not leſs fatal to the Dutch. From this time that iſland, ceaſing to be a tributary to the trade of the republic, became her rival, and in a ſhort time acquired a deciſive ſuperiority over her in Africa, Aſia, and America.

Had other nations adopted the policy of Britain, Holland muſt have ſunk under the ſtroke. Happily for her, their kings knew not, or cared not, for the proſperity of their people. Every government, however, in proportion as it has become more enlightened, has aſſumed to itſelf its own branches of commerce. Each ſtep that has been taken for this purpoſe, has been an additional check upon the Dutch; and we may preſume, from the preſent ſtate of things, that ſooner or later every people will eſtabliſh a navigation for themſelves, ſuited to the nature of their country, and to the extent of their abilities. To this period the courſe

courſe of events in all nations ſeems to tend; and, whenſoever it ſhall arrive, the Dutch, who are indebted for their ſucceſs as much to the indolence and ignorance of their neighbours, as to their own œconomy and experience, will find themſelves reduced to their original ſtate of poverty.

It is not certainly in the power of human prudence to prevent this revolution; but there was no neceſſity to anticipate it, as the republic has done, by chooſing to interfere as a principal in the troubles which ſo frequently have agitated Europe. The intereſted policy of our times would have afforded a ſufficient excuſe for the wars ſhe has commenced or ſuſtained for the ſake of her trade. But upon what principle can ſhe juſtify thoſe in which her exorbitant ambition, or ill-founded apprehenſions, have engaged her? She has been obliged to ſupport herſelf by immenſe loans: if we ſum up together all the debts ſeparately contracted by the ſtates-general, the provinces, and the towns, which are all equally public debts, we ſhall find they amount to two thouſand millions of livres *; the intereſt of which, though reduced to two and a half per cent. has amazingly increaſed the load of taxes.

I ſhall leave it to others to examine whether theſe taxes have been laid on with judgment, and collected with due œconomy. It is ſufficient here to remark, that they have had the effect of increaſing ſo conſiderably the prices of neceſſaries, and conſequently that of labour, that the induſtrious part

* Between 80 and 90 millions ſterling.

part of the nation have ſuffered ſeverely from them. The manufactures of wool, ſilk, gold, ſilver, and a variety of others, have ſunk, after having ſtruggled for a long time under the growing weight of taxes and ſcarcity. When the ſpring equinox brings on at the ſame time high tides and the melting of the ſnow, a country is laid under water by the overflowing of the rivers. No ſooner does the increaſe of taxes raiſe the price of proviſions, than the workman, who pays more for his daily conſumption, without receiving any addition to his wages, forſakes the manufacture and workſhop. Holland has not preſerved any of its internal reſources of trade, but ſuch as were not expoſed to any foreign competition.

THE huſbandry of the republic, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, that is to ſay, the herring-fiſhery, has ſcarcely ſuffered leſs. This fiſhery, which for a long time was entitled the gold mine of the ſtate, on acccount of the number of perſons who derived their ſubſiſtence, and even grew rich from it, is not only reduced to one-half, but the profits of it, as well as thoſe of the whale fiſhery, are dwindled by degrees to nothing. Nor is it by advances of ſpecie, that thoſe who ſupport theſe two fiſheries, embark in the undertaking. The partnerſhips conſiſt of merchants, who furniſh the bottoms, the rigging, the utenſils, and the ſtores. Their profit conſiſts almoſt entirely in the vent of theſe ſeveral merchandiſes: they are paid for them out of the produce of the fiſhery, which ſeldom yields more than is ſufficient to defray its expences.

expences. The impoſſibility there is in Holland of employing their numerous capitals to better advantage, has been the only cauſe of preſerving the remains of this ancient ſource of the public proſperity.

The exceſſive taxes, which have ruined the manufactures of the republic, and reduced the profits of their fiſheries ſo low, has greatly confined their navigation. The Dutch have the materials for building at the firſt hand. They ſeldom croſs the ſea without a cargo. They live with the ſtricteſt ſobriety. The lightneſs of their ſhips in working is a great ſaving in the numbers of their crews; and theſe crews are eaſily formed, and always kept in the greateſt perfection, and at a ſmall expence, from the multitude of ſailors ſwarming in a country which conſiſts of nothing elſe but ſea and ſhore. Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, which are further increaſed by the low rate of money, they have been forced to ſhare the freight trade of Europe with Sweden, Denmark, and eſpecially the Hamburghers, with whom the neceſſary requiſites for navigation are not incumbered with the ſame impoſitions.

With the freights have diminiſhed the commiſſions which uſed to be ſent to the United Provinces. When Holland was become a great ſtaple, merchandiſe was ſent thither from all parts, as to the market where the ſale of it was moſt ready, ſure, and advantageous. Foreign merchants were the more ready oftentimes to ſend them thither, as they obtained, at an eaſy rate, credit

to

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to the amount of two-thirds, or even three-fourths, of the value of their goods. This management insured to the Dutch the double advantage of employing their capitals without risque, and obtaining a commission besides. The profits of commerce were at that time so considerable, that they could easily bear these charges: they are now so greatly lessened, since experience has multiplied the number of adventurers, that the seller is obliged to conduct his commodity himself to the consumer, without the intervention of any agent. But if upon certain occasions an agent must be employed, they will prefer, *cæteris paribus*, Hamburgh, where commodities pay a duty only of one per cent. for import and export, to Holland where they pay five.

The republic hath lost likewise the trade of insurance, which she had in a manner monopolized formerly. It was in her ports that all the nations of Europe used to insure their freights, to the great profit of the insurers, who, by dividing and multiplying their risques, seldom failed of enriching themselves. In proportion as the spirit of inquiry introduced itself into all our ideas, whether of philosophy or œconomy, the utility of these speculations became universally known. The practice became familiar and general; and what other nations have gained by it was of course lost to Holland.

From these observations it is evident, that all the branches of commerce the republic was in possession of, have been very greatly diminished.

Perhaps

Perhaps the greater part of them would have been annihilated, if the largeneſs of her ſtock, and her extraordinary œconomy, had not enabled her to be ſatisfied with a profit of no more than three per cent. which we look upon to be the value of the product upon all her trade. The deficiency has been made up to them by veſting their money in the Engliſh, French, Auſtrian, Saxon, Daniſh, and even Ruſſian funds, the amount of which, upon the whole, is about ſixteen hundred millions of livres *.

FORMERLY the ſtate made this branch of commerce unlawful, which is now become the moſt conſiderable of any. Had this law been obſerved, the ſums they have lent to foreigners would have lain unemployed at home; their capitals for the uſe of trade being already ſo large, that the leaſt addition to them, ſo far from giving an advantage, would become detrimental, by making the amount too great for uſe. The ſuperfluity of money would immediatly have brought the United Provinces to that period, in which exceſs of wealth begets poverty. Millions of opulent perſons, in the midſt of their treaſures, would not have had a ſufficiency to ſupport themſelves.

THE contrary practice has been the principal reſource of the republic. The money ſhe has lent to neighbouring nations, has procured her an annual balance in her favour, by the revenue accruing from it. The credit is always the ſame, and produces always the ſame intereſt.

* About 70 millions ſterling.

WE

We ſhall not preſume to determine how long the Dutch will continue to enjoy ſo comfortable a ſituation. Experience authoriſes us only to declare, that all governments, which have unfortunately for the people adopted the deteſtable ſyſtem of borrowing, will, ſooner or later, be forced to give it up; and the abuſe they have made of it will moſt probably oblige them to defraud their creditors. Whenever the republic ſhall be reduced to this ſtate, her great reſource will be in agriculture.

This, though it is capable of improvement in the country of Breda, Bois-le-Duc, Zutphen, and Gueldres, can never become very conſiderable. The territory belonging to the United Provinces is ſo ſmall, that it will almoſt juſtify the opinion of a ſultan, who, ſeeing with what obſtinacy the Dutch and Spaniards diſputed with each other the poſſeſſion of it, declared, if it belonged to him, he would order his pioneers to throw it into the ſea. The ſoil is good for nothing but fiſh, which, before the Dutch, were the only inhabitants of it. It has been ſaid with as much truth as energy, that the four elements were but in embryo there. The produce of the lands will never be ſufficient to maintain one fourth part of the two millions that inhabit it at this time. It cannot, therefore, be by her European poſſeſſions, that the republic can expect to be preſerved: ſhe may depend with more reaſon upon thoſe in America.

The countries ſhe holds in that part of the world are, all of them, under the influence of mono-

polies. Her iſlands, as well as her factories in Africa, depend upon the Weſt-India company, the credit of which, ſince the loſs of Brazil, has ſunk ſo prodigiouſly, that their ſtock ſells at near ſixty *per cent.* under par.

SURINAM, which was taken by ſome private ſhips fitted out in Zeland, was ceded by the ſtates of that province to the ſame company, who, having ſtill their imagination filled with the idea of their ancient grandeur, undertook without heſitation the management of that territory. Upon ſerious reflection they found, that the expence which was neceſſary to put it in a ſtate to yield them any advantage, was far too great for their exhauſted finances. They gave up a third of their property to the city of Amſterdam; and another third to an opulent individual of the name of Daarſſens. The two other colonies on the continent are likewiſe under the controul of trading companies, to which they owe their foundation.

NOT one of theſe ſocieties is in poſſeſſion of a ſingle ſhip, nor carries on any ſort of trade. The navigation to the American ſettlements is equally open to every member of the community; under this whimſical and oppreſſive condition, however, that every ſhip, bound for Surinam and Berbice, ſhall ſail from Amſterdam; and thoſe for Eſſequebé from Zeland; and that they ſhall return to the ſame ports from which they ſailed. The buſineſs of the companies is confined to the government, and the defence of the territories ſubmitted to their juriſdiction; and, to enable them to ſupport theſe ex-

pences, the republic autherises them to impose taxes of different kinds.

All commodities imported into the colonies, or exported from them, pay large duties. Slaves, on their arrival, are subject to much larger. There is a poll-tax upon blacks and whites from the age of three years. None but foreigners are exempted from this shameful tribute; and this exemption is not taken off but by a residence of more than ten years. When an estate is transferred, both the seller and the purchaser are subject to a considerable fine. Every manufacturer, be his industry ever so great, is obliged to give in an account of his gains upon oath; and the impost is regulated agreeable to the amount of his profits. After the public expences are defrayed, the remainder of the revenue, which the weakness or corruption of the sovereign power has suffered to become too exorbitant, is divided among the members of the different companies.

Every wise government has discovered the ill effect of leaving their American possessions in the hands of particular societies, whose private interests do not always coincide with that of the public. They have considered their subjects in the new world as having an equal right with those of the old, to be governed, not by partial, but by general laws. They have been of opinion, that their colonies would make a more rapid progress under the immediate protection of the state, than under that of a middle-agent. The event has demonstrated more or less in all cases the justness of these

reflections.

reflections. Holland is the only power which has not adopted so simple and rational a plan; though every circumstance concurred to make it more necessary to her than to other states.

Her settlements are without any defence against enemies, which either ambition or revenge may raise up against her; and are in continual danger of insurrections from the cruelty with which the slaves are treated. Their productions, all of which ought to be carried home to the mother-country, are every day smuggled into foreign colonies in North-America. The disinclination, which a people merely commercial naturally have to the improvement of land, is strengthened in the colonies by the abuses inseparable from the form of government established there. The means of creating a new order of things in them are not within the reach of the authority, protection, or activity, of a private society. Revolutions of such magnitude cannot be brought about but by the immediate superintendance of the state.

If the republic adopts the resolution which her most important interests require, she will cease to depend solely for her existence upon a precarious industry, some branches of which she is every day losing, and which, sooner or later, she will lose entirely. Her colonies, which comprehend every advantage that a mercantile nation, which is also engaged in agriculture, can desire, will furnish productions, the whole profits and property of which will center in her. By her territorial acquisitions she will be enabled in every market to rival those

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nations, whoſe commodities ſhe formerly ſerved only to convey. In a word, Holland will ceaſe to be a warehouſe, and become a ſtate. She will find in America that conſiſtence which Europe has denied her. It remains to ſee, if Denmark, the only northern power that has extended its trade and ſovereignty into the new world, has any reaſonable foundation to conceive hopes of aggrandizing itſelf by them.

Daniſh ſettlement at St. Thomas, St. John, and SantaCruz.

DENMARK and Norway, which are at preſent united under the ſame government, formed in the eighth century two different ſtates. While the former ſignalized itſelf by the conqueſt of England, and other bold enterpriſes, the latter peopled the Orcades, Fero, and Iceland. Urged by that reſtleſs ſpirit, which had always actuated their anceſtors the Scandinavians, this active nation, ſo early as the ninth century, formed an eſtabliſhment in Greenland, which country there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe is attached to the American continent. It is even thought, notwithſtanding the darkneſs which prevails over all the hiſtorical records of the north, that there are ſufficient traces to induce a belief, that their navigators in the eleventh century were hardy enough to penetrate as far as the coaſts of Labrador and Newfoundland, and that they left ſome ſmall colonies on them. Hence it is probable that the Norwegians have a right to diſpute with Columbus the glory of having diſcovered the new world; at leaſt, if thoſe may be ſaid to have made the diſcovery, who were there without knowing it.

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THE wars which Norway had to ſuſtain, till the time it became united to Denmark; the difficulties which the government oppoſed to its navigation; the ſtate of oblivion and inaction into which this enterpriſing nation fell; not only loſt it its colonies in Greenland, but alſo whatever ſettlements or connections it might have had on the coaſts of America.

IT was not till more than a century after the Genoeſe navigator had begun the conqueſt of that part of the world under the Spaniſh banner, that the Danes and Norwegians, who were then become one nation, caſt their eyes upon that hemiſphere, which was nearer to them than to any of thoſe nations, who had already poſſeſſed themſelves of different parts of it. They choſe, however, to make their way into it by the ſhorteſt courſe, and therefore in 1619 ſent captain Munk to find out a paſſage by the north-weſt into the Pacific ocean. His expedition was attended with as little ſucceſs as thoſe of many other navigators, both before and after him.

IT may be preſumed, that a diſappointment in their firſt attempt would not entirely have diſguſted the Danes; and that they would have continued their American expeditions till they had ſucceeded in forming ſome ſettlements, that might have rewarded them for their trouble. If they loſt ſight of thoſe diſtant regions, it was becauſe they were forced to it by wars in Europe, which their imprudence as well as their weakneſs had brought upon them. Succeſſive loſſes reduced them to a

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desperate state, from which they would never have recovered, had not the assistance of Holland, and the steady perseverance of the citizens of Copenhagen, procured them a peace in 1660, less humiliating and less destructive than they had reason to fear.

The government seized the first moment of tranquillity to examine the condition of the state. Like all other Gothic governments, it was divided between an elective chief, the nobility or senate, and the commons. The king enjoyed no other preeminence than that of presiding in the senate, and commanding the army. In the intervals between the Diets, the goverment was in the hands of the senate: but all great affairs were referred to the Diets themselves, which were composed of the clergy, nobility, and commonalty.

Though this constitution is formed upon the model of liberty, no country was less free than that of Denmark. The clergy had forfeited their influence from the time of the reformation. The citizens had not yet acquired wealth sufficient to make them considerable. These two orders were overwhelmed by that of the nobility, which was still influenced by the spirit of the original feudal system, that reduces every thing to force. The critical situation of the affairs of Denmark did not inspire this body of men with that justice or moderation, which the circumstances of the time required. They refused to contribute their proportion to the public expences; and by this refusal exasperated the members of the Diet. These, in

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the exceſs of their reſentment, inveſted the king with an abſolute, unlimited power; and the nobles, who had driven them to this act of deſperation, found themſelves obliged to follow their example.

After this revolution, the moſt imprudent, and the moſt ſingular, that ever occurred in the annals of hiſtory, the Danes fell into a kind of lethargic ſtate. To thoſe great convulſions, which are occaſioned by the claſhing of important rights, ſucceeded the deluſive tranquillity of ſervitude. A nation, which had filled the ſcene for ſeveral ages, appeared no more on the theatre of the world. In 1671, it juſt recovered ſo far from the trance, into which the acceſs of deſpotiſm had thrown it, as to look abroad and take poſſeſſion of a little American iſland, known by the name of St. Thomas.

This iſland, the fartheſt of the Caribbees towards the weſt, was totally uninhabited, when the Danes undertook to form a ſettlement upon it. They were at firſt oppoſed by the Engliſh, under pretence that ſome emigrants of that nation had formerly begun to clear it. The Britiſh miniſtry ſtopped the progreſs of this interference; and the colony were left to form plantations of ſugar, ſuch as a ſandy ſoil of no greater extent than five leagues in length, and two and a half in breadth, would admit of.

So ſmall a cultivation would never have given any importance to the iſland of St. Thomas; but the ſea has hollowed out from its coaſt an excellent harbour, in which fifty ſhips may ride with ſecurity. So ſignal an advantage attracted both the

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Engliſh and French Buccaneers, who were deſirous of exempting their booty from the duties they were ſubject to pay in the ſettlements belonging to their own nations. Whenever they had taken their prizes in the lower latitudes, from which they could not make the windward iſlands, they put into that of St. Thomas, to diſpoſe of them. It was alſo the aſylum of all merchant ſhips which frequented it as a neutral port in time of war. It was the mart, where the neigbouring colonies bartered their reſpective commodities, which they could not do elſewhere with ſo much eaſe and ſafety. It was the port, from which they continually diſpatched veſſels richly laden to carry on a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh coaſts; in return for which, they brought back conſiderable quantities of metal and merchandiſes of great value. In a word, St. Thomas was a market of very great conſequence.

Denmark, however, reaped no advantage from this rapid circulation. The perſons who enriched themſelves were foreigners, who carried their wealth to other ſituations. The mother country had no other communication with its colony than by a ſingle ſhip, ſent out annually to Africa to purchaſe ſlaves, which being ſold in America, the ſhip returned home laden with the productions of that country. In 1719 their traffic increaſed by the clearing of the iſland of St. John, which is adjacent to St. Thomas, but not half ſo large. Theſe ſlender beginnings would have required the addition of Crab iſland, or Bourriquen, where it had been attempted to form a ſettlement two years before.

This island, which is from eight to ten leagues in circumference, has a considerable number of hills; but they are neither barren, steep, nor very high. The soil of the plains and vallies, which run between them, seems to be very fruitful; and is watered by a number of springs, the water of which is said to be excellent. Nature, at the same time that she has denied it a harbour, has made it amends by a multitude of the finest bays that can be conceived. At every step some remains of plantations, rows of orange and lemon trees, are still found; which make it evident, that the Spaniards of Porto-Rico, who are not further distant than five or six leagues, had formerly settled there.

The English, observing that so promising an island was without inhabitants, began to raise some plantations there towards the end of the last century; but they had not time to reap the fruit of their labour. They were surprized by the Spaniards, who murdered all the men, and carried off the women and children to Porto-Rico. This accident did not deter the Danes from making some attempts to settle there in 1717. But the subjects of Great-Britain, reclaiming their ancient rights, sent thither some adventurers, who were at first plundered, and soon after driven off, by the Spaniards. The jealousy of these American tyrants extends, even to the prohibiting of fishing-boats to approach any shore where they have a right of possession, though they do not exercise it. Too idle to prosecute cultivation, too suspicious to admit industrious neighbours, they condemn the Crab

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iſland to eternal ſolitude; they will neither inhabit it themſelves, nor ſuffer any other nation to inhabit it. Such an exertion of excluſive ſovereignty has obliged Denmark to give up this Iſland for that of Santa Cruz.

SANTA CRUZ had a better title to become an object of national ambition. It is eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by Dutch and Engliſh. Their rivalſhip in trade ſoon made them enemies to each other. In 1646, after an obſtinate and bloody engagement, the Dutch were beat, and obliged to quit a ſpot upon which they had formed great expectations. The conquerors were employed in ſecuring the conſequences of their victory; when in 1650, they were attacked and driven out in their turn by twelve hundred Spaniards, who arrived there in five ſhips. The triumph of theſe laſted but a few months. The remains of that numerous body, which were left for the defence of the iſland, ſurrendered without reſiſtance to a hundred and ſixty French, who had embarked from St. Chriſtopher's, to make themſelves maſters of the iſland.

THESE new inhabitants loſt no time to make themſelves acquainted with a country ſo much in requeſt. In a ſoil, in other reſpects excellent, they found only one river of a moderate ſize, which, gliding gently almoſt on a level with the ſea, through a flat country, furniſhed only a brackiſh water. Two or three ſprings, which they found in the innermoſt parts of the iſland, made but feeble

feeble amends for this defect. The wells were for the moſt part dry. The conſtruction of reſervoirs required time. Nor was the climate more inviting to the new inhabitants. The iſland being flat, and covered with old trees, ſcarcely afforded an opportunity for the winds to carry off the poiſonous vapours, with which its moraſſes clogged the atmoſphere. There was but one remedy for this inconvenience; which was to burn the woods. The French ſet fire to them without delay; and, getting on board their ſhips, became ſpectators from the ſea for ſeveral months of the conflagration they had raiſed in the iſland. As ſoon as the flames were extinguiſhed, they went on ſhore again.

They found the ſoil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco, cotton, arnotto, indigo, and ſugar, flouriſhed equally in it. So rapid was the progreſs of this colony, that, in eleven years from its commencement, there were upon it eight hundred and twenty-two white perſons, with a proportionable number of ſlaves. It was rapidly advancing to a degree of proſperity, which would have eclipſed the moſt flouriſhing ſettlements of the French nation, when ſuch obſtacles were thrown in the way of its activity as made it decline again. This decay was as ſudden as its riſe. In 1696 there were no more than one hundred and forty-ſeven men, with their wives and children, and ſix hundred and twenty-three blacks, remaining; and theſe were tranſported from hence to St. Domingo.

Writers, who take it for granted that the court of Verſailles is always governed in its deciſions

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by the moſt comprehenſive views of profound policy, have ſuppoſed, that the neglect of Santa Cruz was the reſult of a determination to abandon the ſmall iſlands, in order to unite all the ſtrength, induſtry, and population in the large ones: but this is a miſtaken notion. The reſolution did not take its riſe from the court, but from the farmers of the revenues, who found, that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St. Thomas was detrimental to their intereſts. The ſpirit of finance has in all times been injurious to commerce; it has deſtroyed the ſource from whence it ſprang. Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants, and without cultivation, till 1733, when it was ſold by France to Denmark for 738,000 livres *.

Conduct of Denmark towards its iſlands.

THIS northern power ſeemed likely to take deep root in America. Unfortunately, ſhe laid her plantations under the yoke of excluſive privileges. Induſtrious people of all ſects, particularly Moravians, ſtrove in vain to overcome this great difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the intereſts of the coloniſts and their oppreſſors, but without ſucceſs. The two parties kept up a continual ſtruggle of animoſity, not of induſtry. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from its conſtitution, purchaſed, in 1754, the privileges and effects of the company. The price was fixed at 9,900,000 livres †, part of which was paid down, and the remainder in bills upon the treaſury, bearing intereſt. From this time the navigation

* About 32,000l. ſterling. † About 433,000l. ſterling.

navigation to the islands was opened to all the subjects of the Danish dominions.

The rapaciousness of the treasury unfortunately prevented the advantage which this arrangement would otherwise have produced. Indeed, the national productions and merchandise, in short, whatever they could draw from the first hand, and put on board Danish vessels, were to be shipped from the mother-country free of all duties; but, for all manufactures that did not fall under these descriptions, they demanded a tax of four per cent. All imports into the colonies paid five per cent. and all exports, six. Of American productions, what was consumed in the mother-country had two and a half per cent. laid upon it; and what was carried to foreign markets had one.

At the same time that the trade to the islands recovered its natural independence, at the expence of these burthensome restrictions, that to Africa, which is the basis of it, was likewise laid open. The goverment had, above a century before, purchased of the king of Aquambou, the two forts of Fredericsburg and Christiansburg, situated on the Gold Coast at a small distance from each other. The company, in virtue of its charter, had the sole possession of them; and exercised its privileges with that barbarity, of which the most polished European nations have set the example in these devoted climates. Only one of its agents had the resolution to renounce those cruelties, which custom had given a sanction to. So great

was

was the reputation of his humanity, and the confidence repoſed in his probity, that the blacks would come from the diſtance of a hundred leagues to ſee him. The ſovereign of a diſtant country ſent his daughter to him with preſents of gold and ſlaves, that Schilderop (for ſo this European, thus revered through all the coaſts of Nigritia, was called) might give him a grandſon. O virtue! ſtill doſt thou exiſt in the ſouls of theſe wretched beings, condemned to dwell with tigers, or groan beneath the yoke of their own ſpecies! They yet have hearts ſuſceptible of the ſoft impreſſions of humanity and beneficence! Juſt and virtuous Dane! What monarch ever received ſo pure, ſo glorious a homage, as thy nation has ſeen thee enjoy? And where? Upon a ſea, upon a continent degraded for ever by an infamous traffic, of men exchanged for arms! and children ſold by their parents! of crimes and misfortunes, carried on through two centuries! We cannot ſufficiently deplore ſuch horrors; and, if we could, our lamentations would be uſeleſs.

The excluſive privilege of purchaſing negroes has, however, been aboliſhed in Denmark, as in other ſtates. All the ſubjects of this commercial nation are permitted to buy men in Africa. They pay only eighteen livres * a head for every one they carry into America. Thirty thouſand ſlaves, including all ages and each ſex, are employed already in their plantations, on which a poll-tax is laid of four livres ten ſols †. The produce of their labours

* Between fifteen and ſixteen ſhillings.

† About four ſhillings.

labours loads forty veſſels, from one hundred and twenty, to three hundred tons burthen. The plantations, which pay to the treaſury an annual rent of nine livres * for every thouſand feet ſquare, furniſh to the mother country a little coffee and ginger, ſome wood for inlaying; eight hundred bales of cotton, which are chiefly carried to foreign markets; and fourteen millions weight of raw ſugar, four-fifths of which are conſumed in the mother country, and the reſt is ſold in the Baltic, or introduced into Germany by the way of Altena. Santa Cruz, though the moſt modern of all the Daniſh ſettlements, furniſhes five-ſevenths of this produce.

THIS iſland is divided into three hundred and fifty plantations by lines, which interſect each other at right angles. Each plantation contains one hundred and fifty acres, of forty thouſand ſquare feet each; ſo that it may occupy a ſpace of twelve hundred common feet in length, by eight hundred in breadth. Two-thirds of this tract are fit for the growth of ſugar, and the proprietor may occupy fourſcore acres at a time, each of which will yield, one year with another, ſixteen quintals of ſugar, without reckoning the molaſſes. The remainder may be employed in other cultivations leſs lucrative. When the iſland comes to be entirely cleared, ſome towns may be built upon it; at preſent it has only the village of Chriſtianſtadt, built under the fort, which defends the principal harbour.

DENMARK

* About eight ſhillings.

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Reaſons why Denmark ought to appropriate to herſelf the produce of all her iſlands.

DENMARK cannot be ignorant, that the riches, which begin to flow from her colonies, do not belong entirely to herſelf. A great part goes to the Engliſh and Dutch, who, without living upon the iſlands, have formed the beſt plantations in them. New England ſupplies them with wood, cattle, and meal; and receives in exchange molaſſes and other commodities. They are obliged likewiſe to import their wines, linens, and ſilks. Even India is concerned in this trade. Upon a ſtrict calculation, perhaps, it might appear, that what remains to the proprietors, after the commiſſion, freight, and duties, are paid, is a very inſignificant ſhare. The ſituation of Denmark does not admit of her looking with indifference upon ſuch a diſadvantage. Every thing conſpires to induce her to take proper meaſures for ſecuring to herſelf the entire profits of her American poſſeſſions.

THE Daniſh territories in Europe were formerly independent of each other. Revolutions of a ſingular nature have united them into one kingdom. In the center of this heterogeneous compoſition are ſome iſlands, the principal of which is called Zealand. It has an excellent port, which in the eleventh century was but a little fiſhing town; it became a place of importance in the thirteenth; in the fifteenth, the capital of the kingdom; and, ſince the fire in 1728, which conſumed ſixteen hundred and fifty houſes, a handſome city. To the ſouth of theſe iſlands is that long and narrow peninſula, which the ancients called the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus. Jutland, Sleſwick, and Holſtein, the

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moſt important and extenſive parts of this peninſula have been ſucceſſively added to the Daniſh dominions. They have been more or leſs flouriſhing, in proportion as they have felt the effects of the reſtleſſneſs of the ocean, which ſometimes retires from their coaſts, and ſometimes overwhelms them. In theſe countries, as well as in thoſe of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt, which are ſubject to the ſame power, one may ſee a perpetual ſtruggle, between the inhabitants and the ſea, ſo well ſuſtained on each part, that the ſucceſs has always been equal. The inhabitants of ſuch a country will be free from the moment they feel that they are not ſo. Mariners, iſlanders, and mountaineers, will not long remain under the diſgrace of ſervitude.

Nor is Norway, which conſtitutes part of the Daniſh dominions, more adapted to ſervitude. It is covered with ſtones or rocks, and interſected by chains of barren mountains. Lapland contains only a few wild people, either ſettled upon the ſea-coaſts, for the ſake of fiſhing, or wandering through frightful deſerts, and ſubſiſting by the chace, by their furs, and their rein-deer. Iceland is a miſerable country, which has been many times overturned by volcanos and earthquakes, and conceals within its bowels a quantity of combuſtible matter, which in an inſtant may reduce it to a heap of aſhes. With reſpect to Greenland, which the common people look upon as an iſland, and which geographers conſider as united towards the weſt to the American continent; it is a vaſt and barren country, condemned by nature to be eternally

covered with ſnow. If ever theſe countries ſhould become populous, they would be independent of each other, and of the king of Denmark, who thinks at preſent that he rules over their wild inhabitants, becauſe he calls himſelf their king, while they know nothing of the matter.

THE climate of the Daniſh iſlands in Europe is not ſo ſevere as might be conjectured from the latitude they lie in. If the navigation of the gulfs, which ſurround them, is ſometimes interrupted, it is not ſo much by ice formed there, as by what is driven thither by the winds, and by degrees collects into a maſs. All the provinces which make part of the German continent, except Jutland, partake of the German temperature. The cold is very moderate even on the coaſts of Norway. It rains there often during the winter, and the port of Berghen is ſcarcely once cloſed by ice, while that of Amſterdam, Lubec, and Hamburgh, is ſhut up ten times in the courſe of the year. It is true, that this advantage is dearly purchaſed by thick and perpetual fogs, which make Denmark a diſagreeable and melancholy reſidence, and its inhabitants gloomy and low-ſpirited.

THE population of this empire is not proportioned to its extent. In the earlier ages it was ruined by continual emigrations. The piratical enterpriſes, which ſucceeded to theſe, kept their numbers from increaſing; and a total want of order and government put it out of their power to remedy evils of ſuch magnitude and importance. The double tyranny of the prince over one order of his

his ſubjects, who fancy themſelves to be free, under the title of nobles, and of the nobility over a people entirely deprived of liberty, extinguiſhes even the hopes of an increaſe of population. The bills of mortality of all the ſtates of Denmark, excepting Iceland, taken together, make the deaths in 1771 amount only to 55,125; ſo that, upon the calculation of thirty-two living to one dead perſon, the whole number of inhabitants does not amount to more than 1,764,000.

INDEPENDENT of many other cauſes, the weight of impoſts is a great obſtacle to their proſperity. There are fixed taxes payable on land, arbitrary ones collected by way of capitation, and daily ones levied on conſumption. This oppreſſion is the more unjuſt, as the crown poſſeſſes a very conſiderable domain, and has likewiſe a certain reſource in the ſtreights of the Sound. Six thouſand nine hundred and thirty ſhips, which, if we may judge from the accounts of the year 1768, annually paſs into or out of the Baltic, pay at the entrance of that ſea about one *per cent.* upon all the commodities they are laden with. This ſpecies of tribute, which, though difficult to raiſe, brings in to the ſtate two millions five hundred thouſand livres *, is received in the bay of Elſinoor under the guns of the caſtle of Cronenburg. It is aſtoniſhing, that the ſituation of this bay, and that of Copenhagen, ſhould not have ſuggeſted the idea of forming a ſtaple here, where all the commercial nations of the north and ſouth

* Near 110,000l.

might meet, and exchange the produce of their climates and their induſtry.

With the funds ariſing from tributes, domains, cuſtoms, and foreign ſubſidies, this ſtate maintains an army of twenty-five thouſand men, which is compoſed entirely of foreigners, and paſſes for the very worſt body of troops in Europe. On the other hand, its fleet is in the higheſt reputation. It conſiſts of thirty-two ſhips of the line, fifteen or ſixteen frigates, and ſome gallies, the uſe of which, though wiſely prohibited in other parts, cannot be avoided on the coaſts of the Baltic, which are for the moſt part inacceſſible to veſſels of other kinds. Twenty-four thouſand regiſtered ſeamen, moſt of whom are continually employed, form a certain reſource of their navy. To their military expences, the government has of late years added others, for the encouragement of manufactures and arts. If we add to theſe, four millions of livres * for the neceſſary expences and amuſements of the court, and about the ſame ſum for the intereſt of the national debt, amounting to about ſeventy millions †; we ſhall account for the diſtribution of about twenty-three millions of livres ‡, which form the revnue of the crown.

If it was with a view of ſecuring theſe ſeveral branches, that the government, in 1736, prohibited the uſe of jewels, and gold and ſilver ſtuffs, we may venture to ſay, there were plainer and eaſier means to be uſed for that purpoſe. They ſhould have removed a multitude of difficulties, which

* 175,000l.
† About 3,062,000l.
‡ About 1,006,000l.

which clog the commercial intercourſe of the citizens, and hinder a free communication between the different parts of the kingdom. The whale fiſhery, the Greenland and Iceland trade, once reſcued from the bondage of monopolies, and that of the iſlands of Fero given up by the king, would have been purſued with new zeal. Their foreign connections would have received equal improvement, if the Barbary company had been ſuppreſſed, and all the members of the ſtate had been releaſed from the obligation, which was impoſed upon them in 1726, to buy their wine, ſalt, brandy, and tobacco, at Copenhagen.

In the preſent ſtate of affairs, their exportations are but ſmall. In the provinces on the German continent, they conſiſt of five or ſix thouſand beeves, three or four thouſand horſes, fit for cavalry, and and ſome rye, which is ſold to the Swedes and Dutch. For ſome years paſt, Denmark has conſumed all the wheat, which Fionia and Aland uſed to export to other nations. Thoſe two iſlands, as well as Zealand, have now no other traffic but in thoſe magnificent harneſſes, which are purchaſed at ſo dear a rate by all who love fine horſes. The trade of Norway conſiſts of herrings, timber, maſts, tar, and iron. Lapland and Greenland produces furs. From Iceland they get cod, whale blubber, the oil of ſeals, and manatees, ſulphur, and that luxurious down ſo celebrated under the name of eider-down.

We ſhall cloſe here the details, into which the commerce of Denmark has neceſſarily led us; and

which are ſufficient to convince that power, that nothing contribute ſo much to her intereſts as having the ſole poſſeſſion and traffic of all the productions of her American iſlands. The more her poſſeſſions are limited in the new world, as they always will be within the torrid zone, the more attentive ought ſhe to be, not to let any of the advantages ſhe might draw from them eſcape her. In a ſtate of mediocrity, the leaſt negligence is attended with ſerious conſequences. We ſhall ſoon have occaſion to obſerve, that nations which are poſſeſſed even of extenſive and rich territories, do not commit faults with impunity.

END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.

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BOOK XIII.

Settlement of the French in the American islands.

FRANCE, ever since the fatal catastrophe of the assassination of the best of her kings, had been in perpetual confusion, from the caprices of an intriguing queen, the oppressions of a rapacious foreigner, and the schemes of a weak-minded favourite. A despotic minister began to enslave her; when some of her sailors, excited as much by a desire of independence, as by the allurement of riches, sailed towards the Caribbee islands, in hopes of making themselves masters of the Spanish vessels that frequented those seas. Their courage had been successful on many occasions; but they were at last obliged, in order to refit, to seek for an asylum, which they found at St. Christopher's. This island appeared to them a proper place for securing the success of their expeditions, and they were therefore desirous of procuring a settlement upon it. Desnambuc, their chief, not only obtained leave to form an establishment there, but likewise to ex-

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tend it as far as he was either desirous or was able to do, in the great Archipelago of America. Government required for this permission merely, without giving any assistance to the project, or encouraging it with any protection, a twentieth part of the produce of every colony that might be founded.

The French islands are oppressed under exclusive privileges.

A company was formed in 1626, in order to reap the benefit of this concession. Such was the custom of those times, when trade and navigation were yet in too weak a state to be intrusted to private hands. This company obtained the greatest privileges. The government gave them the property of all the islands they should cultivate, and impowered them to exact a hundred weight of tobacco, or fifty pounds of cotton, of every inhabitant from sixteen to sixty years of age. They were likewise to enjoy an exclusive right of buying and selling. A capital of forty-five thousand livres * only, and which was never increased to three times that sum, procured them all these advantages.

It seemed impossible to rise to any great degree of prosperity with such inadequate means. Considerable numbers, however, of bold and enterprising men came from St. Christopher's, who hoisted the French flag in the neighbouring islands. Had the company, which excited this spirit of invasion by a few privileges, acted upon a consistent and rational plan, the state must soon have reaped some benefit from this restless disposition. But, unfortunately,

* 1,968 l. 15 s.

nately, an inordinate thirſt of gain rendered them unjuſt and cruel; a conſequence that ever has, and ever will attend a ſpirit of monopoly.

The Dutch, apprized of this tyranny, came and offered proviſions and merchandiſe on far more moderate terms, and made propoſals which were readily accepted. This laid the foundation of a connection between thoſe republicans and the coloniſts, that could never afterwards be broken; and formed a competition, not only fatal to the company in the new world, where it prevented the ſale of their cargoes, but even purſued them in all the markets in Europe, where the contraband traders underſold all the produce of the French iſlands. Diſcouraged by theſe deſerved diſappointments, the company ſunk into a total ſtate of inactivity, which deprived them of moſt of their emoluments, without leſſening any of their expences. In vain did the government remit the ſtipulated reſerve of the twentieth part of the profit; this indulgence was not ſufficient to reſtore their activity. Some of the proprietors were of opinion, that, by renouncing the deſtructive principles which had been hitherto adopted, they might ſtill re-eſtabliſh the affairs of the company: but the greater number thought it impracticable, notwithſtanding all their advantages, to contend for ſuperiority with ſuch frugal private traders as their rivals were. This opinion occaſioned a revolution. The company, to prevent their total ruin, and that they might not ſink under the weight of their engagements, put

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their poſſeſſions up to auction: which were moſtly bought up by their reſpective governors.

In 1649, Boiſſeret purchaſed, for ſeventy-three thouſand livres *, Guadalupe, Marigalante, the iſland called *the Saints*, and all the effects belonging to the company on theſe ſeveral iſlands: he afterwards parted with half in favour of Houel, his brother-in-law. In 1650, Duparquet paid but ſixty-thouſand livres † for Martinico, St. Lucia, Granada, and the Granadines. Seven years after, he ſold Granada and the Granadines to Count Cerillac, for one third more than he had given for his whole purchaſe. In 1651, Malta purchaſed St. Chriſtopher's, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, Santa Cruz, and Tortuga, for forty thouſand crowns ‡, which were paid by the commandant de Poincy, who governed thoſe iſlands. The knights of Malta were to hold them in fief of the crown, and were not allowed to intruſt any but a Frenchman with the adminiſtration of them.

The new poſſeſſors enjoyed an unlimited authority, and diſpoſed of the lands. All places, both civil and military, were in their gift. They had the right of pardoning thoſe whom their deputies condemned to death; in ſhort, they were ſo many petty ſovereigns. It was natural to expect, as their domains were under their own inſpection, that agriculture would make a rapid progreſs. This conjecture was in ſome meaſure realized, notwithſtanding the conteſts which were neceſſarily ſharp and frequent under ſuch maſters. However, this ſecond

* 3,193 l. 15 s. † 2,625 l. ‡ 5,250 l.

ſecond ſtate of the French colonies did not prove more beneficial to the nation than the firſt. The Dutch continued to furniſh them with proviſions, and to carry away the produce, which they ſold indiſcriminately to all nations, even to that which ought to have reaped the ſole advantage of it, becauſe it was her own property.

The mother-country ſuffered conſiderably from this evil, and Colbert miſtook the means of redreſs. That great man, who had for ſome time preſided over the finances and trade of the kingdom, had begun upon a wrong plan. The habit of living with the farmers of the revenue under the adminiſtration of Mazarin, had accuſtomed him to conſider money, which is but an inſtrument of circulation, as the ſource of every thing. He imagined that manufactures were the readieſt way to draw it from abroad; and that in the work-ſhops were to be found the beſt reſources of the ſtate, and in the tradeſmen the moſt uſeful ſubjects of the monarchy. To increaſe the number of theſe men, he thought it proper to keep the neceſſaries of life at a low price, and to diſcourage the exportation of corn. The production of materials was the leaſt object of his care, and he bent his whole attention to the manufacturing of them. This preference of induſtry to agriculture became the reigning taſte, and unfortunately this deſtructive ſyſtem ſtill prevails.

Had Colbert entertained juſt notions of the improvement of lands, and of the encouragement it requires, and of the liberty the huſbandman muſt enjoy,

enjoy, he would have purſued in 1664 a very different plan from that which he adopted. It is well known that he redeemed Guadalupe and its dependent iſlands for one hundred and twenty-five thouſand livres *; Martinico for forty thouſand crowns †; Granada for a hundred thouſand livres ‡; and all the poſſeſſions of Malta for five hundred thouſand livres ‖. So far his conduct deſerved commendation: it was fit that he ſhould reſtore ſo many branches of ſovereignty to the body of the ſtate. But he ought never to have ſubmitted poſſeſſions of ſuch importance to the oppreſſions of an excluſive company; a meaſure forbidden as much by paſt experience, as by reaſon. It is probable, that the miniſtry expected that a company, which was to be incorporated into thoſe of Africa, Cayenne, and North-America, and intereſted in the trade that was beginning to be carried on upon the coaſts of St. Domingo, would obtain a ſtrong and permanent power; as well from the great connections it would have an opportunity of forming, as from the facility with which it might ſupply in one part the hopes it had ſuſtained in another. They thought to ſecure the future ſplendour of the company, by lending them the tenth part of the amount of their capital, free from intereſt for four years, by permitting the exportation of all proviſions duty-free into their ſettlements, and by prohibiting as much as they could the competition of the Dutch.

Not-

* 5,468l. 15s. † 5,250l. ‡ 4,375l. ‖ 21,875l.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe favours, the company was never in the leaſt flouriſhing ſtate. The errors they fell into ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the number of conceſſions that had been injudiciouſly beſtowed upon them. The knavery of their agents, the dejection of the coloniſts, the devaſtations of war, with other cauſes, concurred to throw their affairs into the utmoſt confuſion. Their ruin was advancing, and appeared inevitable in 1674, when the ſtate judged it proper to pay off their debts, which amounted to three millions five hundred and twenty-three thouſand livres *, and to reimburſe them their capital of one million two hundred eighty-ſeven thouſand one hundred and eight-five livres †. Theſe generous terms reſtored to the body of the ſtate thoſe valuable poſſeſſions which had been hitherto as it were alienated from it. The colonies became entirely French, and all the citizens, without diſtinction, were at liberty to go and ſettle there, or to open a communication with them.

The French iſlands recover their liberty. Obſtacles which prevent their ſucceſs.

THEY were now freed from the chains under which they had ſo long been oppreſſed, and nothing ſeemed capable of abating for the future the active ſpirit of labour and induſtry. The tranſports of joy this event occaſioned in the iſlands can hardly be expreſſed. Every individual gave a full ſcope to his ambition, and thought himſelf at the eve of making an immenſe fortune. If they were deceived in theſe expectations, this cannot be attributed either to their preſumption or their indolence. Their hopes were very natural, and their whole conduct

* 1,543 l. 5s. † 56,314 l. 6s. 10d. ½.

conduct was such as justified and confirmed them. Unfortunately, the prejudices of the mother country threw insurmountable difficulties in their way.

First, it was required, even in the islands, that every free man, and every slave of either sex, should pay an annual poll-tax of a hundred weight of raw sugar. It was in vain urged that the condition imposed upon the colonies, to trade only with the mother country, was of itself a sufficient hardship, and a reason why they should be exempted from all other taxes. These representations were not attended to, as they ought to have been. Whether from necessity, or from ignorance on the part of government, those farmers who ought to have been assisted with loans without interest, or with gratuities, saw part of their harvest collected by greedy tax-gatherers; which, had it been returned into their own fertile fields, would gradually have increased their produce.

While the islands were thus deprived of part of their produce, the spirit of monopoly was taking effectual measures in France to reduce the price of what was left them. The privilege of buying it up was limited to a few sea-ports. This was a manifest infringement of the essential rights vested in the other harbours of the kingdom; but to the colonies it proved a very unfortunate restriction, because it lessened the number of buyers and sellers on the coasts.

To this disadvantage another soon succeeded. The ministry had endeavoured to exclude all foreign vessels from those distant possessions, and had succeeded,

ſucceeded, becauſe they were in earneſt. Theſe navigators obtained from motives of intereſt the privilege that was denied them by the laws. They purchaſed of the French merchants paſſes to go to the colonies, where they took in their ladings, and carried them directly to their own country. This diſhoneſty might have been puniſhed and ſuppreſſed by a variety of methods, but the moſt deſtructive one was adopted. All ſhips were required to give in their return, not only at home, but likewiſe at the ports from whence they had ſailed. This reſtraint neceſſarily occaſioned a conſiderable expence to no purpoſe, and could not fail of enhancing the price of American commodities.

THE ſale of ſugar, the moſt important of them, ſoon met with another check. The refiners, in 1682, petitioned that the exportation of raw ſugars might be prohibited; in which they ſeemed to be influenced merely by public good. They alledged, that it was repugnant to all ſound principles, that the original produce ſhould be ſent away to ſupport foreign manufactures, and that the ſtate ſhould voluntarily deprive itſelf of the profits of ſo valuable a labour. This plauſible reaſoning made too great an impreſſion upon Colbert; and the conſequence of it was, that the refining of ſugar was kept up at the ſame exorbitant price, and the art itſelf never received any improvement. This was not approved by the people who conſumed this article: the French ſugar-trade ſank, and that of the rival nations was viſibly increaſed.

SOME

SOME of the coloniſts, obſerving that the ſyſtem was not dropped notwithſtanding this fatal experiment, ſolicited leave to fine their own ſugars. They were ſupplied with ſo many conveniencies to go through this proceſs at a trifling expence, that they flattered themſelves they might ſoon recover that preference they had loſt in the foreign markets. This change was more than probable, had not every hundred weight of refined ſugar they ſent home been clogged with a duty of eight livres * on entering the kingdom. All that could be done, notwithſtanding this heavy impoſition, was to ſupport the French refiners reſiding in the kingdom in their competition. The produce of the ſugar-houſes in France, and of thoſe in the colonies, were entirely conſumed within the empire; and thus an important branch of trade was given up, rather than it would be acknowledged that a miſtake had been committed in prohibiting the importation of raw ſugars.

FROM this period the colonies, which ſupplied twenty-ſeven millions weight of ſugar, could not diſpoſe of the whole of it in the mother country, which conſumed but twenty millions. As the conſumption of it decreaſed, no more was cultivated than what was abſolutely neceſſary. This medium could only be ſettled in proceſs of time; and, before this was effected, the commodity fell to an exceeding low price. This decreaſe in the value, which was alſo owing to the negligent manner of making it, was ſo great, that raw ſugar, which ſold for fourteen

* Seven ſhillings.

fourteen or fifteen livres * *per* hundred in 1682, fetched no more than five or six †, in 1713.

THE low price of the ſtaple commodity would have made it impoſſible for the coloniſts to increaſe the number of their ſlaves, even if the government by its conduct had not contributed to this misfortune. The negro trade was always in the hands of excluſive companies, who imported but few, in order to be certain of ſelling them at a better price. We have good authority to aſſert, that in 1698 there were not twenty thouſand negroes in thoſe numerous ſettlements; and it may ſafely be affirmed, that moſt of theſe had been brought in by contraband traders. Fifty-four ſhips of a moderate ſize were ſufficient to bring over the whole produce of theſe colonies.

THE French iſlands could not but ſink under ſo many difficulties. If the inhabitants did not forſake them, and carry the fruit of their induſtry to other places, their perſeverance muſt be attributed to ſome trifling advantages, which ſtill kept them in hopes that their ſituation would be improved. The culture of tobacco, cocoa, indigo, cotton, and arnotto, was rather encouraged. Government ſupported it indirectly, by laying heavy duties on the foreign importation of theſe articles. This ſlight indulgence gave them time to wait for a happier revolution, which was brought about in 1716.

AT

* Between 11s. and 12s. † Not quite 5s. on an average.

At this period, a plain and ſimple regulation was ſubſtituted in lieu of a multitude of equivocal orders, which rapacious officers of the revenue had from time to time extorted from the wants and weakneſs of government. The merchandiſe deſtined for the colonies was exempted from all taxes. The duties upon American commodities deſigned for home conſumption, were greatly lowered. The goods brought over for exportation were to be entered and cleared out freely, upon paying three *per cent.* The duties laid upon foreign ſugars were to be levied every where alike, without any regard to particular immunities, except in caſes of re-exportation in the ports of Bayonne and Marſeilles.

In granting ſo many favours to her remote poſſeſſions, the mother country was not unmindful of her own intereſts. All merchandiſe, prohibited at home, was alſo forbidden in the colonies. To ſecure the preference to its own manufactures, it was enacted, that even ſuch commodities as were not prohibited ſhould pay duty on their entry into France, although they were deſtined for the colonies. Salt beef alone, which the mother country could not furniſh in competition, was exempted from this duty.

This regulation would have been as beneficial a one as the times would admit of, if the edict had allowed that the trade from America, which till then had been confined to a few ſea-ports, ſhould be general; and if it had releaſed ſhips from the neceſſity of returning to the place from whence they came. Theſe reſtraints limited the number of ſea-

men,

men, raiſed the expences of navigation, and prevented the exportation of the productions of the country. The perſons who were then at the head of affairs ought to have been ſenſible of theſe inconveniences, and no doubt intended one day to reſtore to trade that freedom and ſpirit which alone can make it flouriſh. They were probably forced to ſacrifice their own views to the clamours of men in power, who openly diſapproved of whatever oppoſed their own intereſt.

NOTWITHSTANDING this weakneſs, the coloniſts, who had reluctantly given up the hopes of an excellent ſoil, beſtowed their utmoſt induſtry upon it, as ſoon as they were allowed that liberty. Their ſucceſs aſtoniſhed all nations. If government, on the arrival of the French in the new world, had only foreſeen what they learned from experience a century later, the ſtate might ſoon have enjoyed, from the advantages of cultivation, that wealth which would have added more to its proſperity than conqueſts; it would not then have been as much ruined by its victories as by its defeats. Thoſe prudent miniſters, who repaired the loſſes of war by a happy revolution in trade, would not have had the mortification to ſee that Santa Cruz was evacuated in 1696, and St. Chriſtopher's given up at the peace of Utretcht. Their concern would have been greatly heightened, could they have foreſeen that in 1763 the French would be reduced to deliver up the Granades to the Engliſh. Strange infatuation of the ambition of nations, or rather of kings! After ſacrificing thouſands of lives to

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acquire and to preſerve a remote poſſeſſion, a greater number muſt ſtill be laviſhed to loſe it. Yet France has ſome important colonies left: let us begin with Guiana, which lies to windward of all the reſt.

Settlement of the French in Guiana. Revolutions of that colony. Its advantages and its inconveniences.

THE great extent of this immenſe country is evident from its very boundaries. It is limited on the eaſt by the ocean; on the north by the Oronooko; on the ſouth by the Amazons; and on the weſt by the Rio-negro, which joins thoſe two rivers, the largeſt in South-America. Guiana, in this poſition, may be conſidered as an iſland, at leaſt two hundred leagues over from north to ſouth, and above three hundred from eaſt to weſt.

THE people, who roved about this vaſt tract, ſo fortunately bounded, before the arrival of the Europeans, were divided into ſeveral nations, none of which were very numerous. Their manners were the ſame as thoſe of the ſavages of the ſouthern continent. The Caribs only, who from their numbers and courage were more turbulent than the reſt, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a remarkable cuſtom in the choice of their chiefs. To be qualified to govern ſuch a people, it was neceſſary a man ſhould have more ſtrength, more intrepidity, and more knowledge, than the reſt of his brethren; and that he ſhould give evident and public proofs of theſe ſuperior qualifications.

THE man, therefore, who aſpired to the honour of commanding his brethren, muſt previouſly be well acquainted with all the places fit for hunting and fiſhing, and with all the ſprings and roads. He

was

was obliged to endure long and ſevere faſts; and was afterwards expoſed to carry burthens of an enormous weight. He uſed to paſs ſeveral nights as a centinel, at the entrance of the carbet or principal hut. He was buried up to the waiſt in an ant's neſt, where he remained for a conſiderable time, expoſed to ſharp and bloody ſtings. If in all theſe ſituations he ſhewed a ſtrength and fortitude fit to ſupport the dangers and hardſhips incident to the lives of ſavages; if he was one who could endure every thing, and fear nothing; he was declared fit to be their chief. He withdrew, however, as if conſcious of what his intended dignity required, and concealed himſelf under thick buſhes. The people went out to ſeek him in a retreat, which made him more deſerving of the poſt he ſeemed to decline. Each of the aſſiſtants trod upon his head, to ſhew him, that, being raiſed from the duſt by his equals, it was in their power to ſink him into it again, if ever he ſhould be forgetful of the duties of his ſtation. Such was the ceremony of his coronation. After this political leſſon, all the bows and arrows were thrown at his feet; and the nation was obedient to his laws, or rather to his example.

Such were the inhabitants of Guiana, when the Spaniard Alphonſo de Ojeda firſt landed there in 1499, with Americus Veſpucius and John de la Coſa. He went over a part of it; but this expedition afforded him only a ſuperficial knowledge of ſo vaſt a country. Many others were undertaken at a greater expence, but turned out ſtill more unſucceſsful.

They were, however, ſtill continued, from a motive which ever did and ever will deceive mankind.

A REPORT prevailed, though its origin could not be diſcovered, that, in the interior parts of Guiana, there was a country, known by the name of *del Dorado*, which contained immenſe riches in gold and precious ſtones; more mines and treaſures than ever Cortez and Pizarro had found. This fable not only inflamed the ardent imagination of the Spaniards, but fired every nation in Europe.

SIR Walter Ralegh in particular, one of the moſt extraordinary men that ever appeared in a country abounding in ſingular characters, was ſeized with this enthuſiaſm. He was paſſionately fond of every thing that was magnificent; he enjoyed a reputation ſuperior to that of the greateſt men; he had more knowledge than thoſe whoſe immediate purſuit was learning; he poſſeſſed a freedom of thinking uncommon in thoſe days; and had a kind of romantic turn in his ſentiments and behaviour. This determined him, in 1595, to undertake a voyage to Guiana; but he returned without diſcovering any thing relative to the object of his voyage. On his return, however, he publiſhed an account, full of the moſt brilliant impoſtures that ever amuſed the credulity of mankind.

THE French had not waited for this deceitful account to turn their views towards ſo celebrated a country. They had long before adopted the general prejudice with a vivacity peculiar to themſelves. While the hopes of their rivals were en-

gaged on the ſide of the Oronooko, they ſought to realize their own expectations upon the river Amazon. After many fruitleſs excurſions, they at length ſettled on the iſland of Cayenne in 1635.

Some merchants of Rouen, thinking that this ſettlement might prove advantageous, united their ſtock in 1643. They intruſted their affairs in the hands of a man of a ferocious diſpoſition, named Poncet de Bretigny, who, having declared war both againſt the coloniſts and the ſavages, was ſoon maſſacred. This cataſtrophe having checked the ardour of the aſſociates, a new company was eſtabliſhed in 1651, which ſeemed to promiſe to be much more conſiderable than the former. They ſet out with ſo large a capital as to enable them to collect, in Paris itſelf, ſeven or eight hundred coloniſts. Theſe embarked on the Seine, in order to ſail down to Havre de Grace. Unfortunately, the virtuous Abbé de Marivault, who was the principal promoter of this undertaking, and was to have had the management of it as director-general, was drowned as he was ſtepping into his boat. Roiville, a gentleman of Normandy, who was going over to Cayenne as general, was aſſaſſinated in the paſſage. Twelve of the principal adventurers, who were the perpetrators of this act, and had undertaken to put the colony into a flouriſhing condition, behaved there in as atrocious a manner as might be expected from ſo horrid a beginning. They hanged one of their own number; two died; three were baniſhed to a deſart iſland; the reſt abandoned themſelves to every kind of exceſs. The

commandant of the citadel deſerted to the Dutch with part of his garriſon. The remainder, that had eſcaped hunger, poverty, and the fury of the ſavages, which had been rouzed by numberleſs provocations, thought themſelves happy in being able to get over to the Leeward iſlands in a boat and two canoes. They abandoned the fort, ammunition, arms, and merchandiſe, with five or ſix hundred dead bodies of their wretched companions, fifteen months after they had landed on the iſland.

A NEW company was formed in 1663, under the direction of La Barre, maſter of requeſts. Their capital was no more than two hundred thouſand livres *. The aſſiſtance, they obtained from the miniſtry, enabled them to expel the Dutch, who, under the conduct of Spranger, had taken poſſeſſion of the lands granted to them, after they had been evacuated by their countrymen. A year after, this inconſiderable body made a part of the great company which united the poſſeſſions and privileges of all the reſt. Cayenne returned into the hands of government at that happy period which reſtored freedom to all the colonies. It was taken in 1667 by the Engliſh; and in 1676, by the Dutch; but has never even been attacked ſince that time.

THIS ſettlement, ſo often overturned, had but juſt begun to be re-eſtabliſhed, and to enjoy ſome tranquillity, when great hopes were entertained of its ſucceſs. Some pirates, laden with ſpoils they had gathered in the South Seas, came and fixed

* 8,750l.

there;

there; and, what was of greater conſequence, reſolved to employ their treaſures in the cultivation of the lands. It was probable, that their plan would be proſecuted with vigour, becauſe their means were great; when Ducaſſe, who was reputed an able ſeaman, came with ſome ſhips, in 1688, and propoſed to them the plundering of Surinam. This excited their natural turn for plunder; the new coloniſts became pirates again, and almoſt all the inhabitants followed their example.

The expedition proved unfortunate. Some of the beſiegers fell in the attack; the reſt were taken priſoners, and ſent to the Caribbee iſlands, where they ſettled. The colony has never recovered this loſs. Far from extending into Guiana, it has never been in a proſperous ſtate at Cayenne.

This iſland is only parted from the continent by two rivers; and may be about ſixteen leagues in circumference. By a particular formation very rarely to be met with in iſlands, and which renders it little fit to be inhabited, the land is high near the water ſide, and low in the middle. Hence it is interſected with ſo many moraſſes, that all communication is impracticable, without taking a great circuit. Until the lands that are under water are drained, and ſecured from future inundations by dykes properly raiſed, there will be no place fit for culture, except the riſing grounds. There are ſome ſmall tracts of an excellent ſoil to be found there; but the generality is dry, ſandy, and ſoon exhauſted. The only town in the colony is defended by a covert-way, a large ditch, a very good mud

mud rampart, and five baſtions. In the middle of the town is a pretty conſiderable eminence; of which a redoubt has been made that is called the fort, where forty men might capitulate after the place had been taken. The entrance into the harbour is through a narrow channel; and ſhips can only get in at high water through the rocks and reefs that are ſcattered about this paſs.

THE firſt produce of Cayenne was the arnotto. This is a red dye, called by the Spaniards *achiote*, into which they dip the white wool, whatever colour they intend to give it. The tree that yields this lye has a reddiſh bark, and large, ſtrong, and hard leaves, of a dark green colour. It is as high as a plumb-tree, and more buſhy. The flowers, that grow in bunches, not unlike wild roſes, are ſucceeded twice a year by pods as prickly as the ſhell of a cheſnut, but ſmaller. They contain ſome little ſeeds of a pale red, and theſe make the arnotto.

As ſoon as one of the eight or ten pods that grow in a bunch opens of itſelf, the reſt may be gathered. All the ſeeds are then to be taken out, and thrown directly into large troughs, full of water. When the fermentation begins, the ſeeds are to be bruiſed ſeveral times with wooden peſtles, till the ſkin is entirely taken off. The whole is then poured into ſieves made of ruſhes, which retain all the ſolid parts, and let out a thick, reddiſh, and fetid liquor into iron coppers prepared to receive it. As it boils, the ſcum is ſkimmed off, and kept in large pans. When the liquor yields no more ſcum, it is thrown away as uſeleſs, and the ſcum poured back into the copper.

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This ſcum, which is to be boiled for ten or twelve hours, muſt be conſtantly ſtirred with a wooden ſpatula, to prevent its ſticking to the copper, or turning black. When it is boiled enough, and ſomewhat hardened, it is ſpread upon boards to cool. It is then made up into cakes of two or three pounds weight, and the whole proceſs is finiſhed.

From the culture of the arnotto, Cayenne proceeded to that of cotton, of indigo, and at laſt of ſugar. It was the firſt of all the French colonies that attempted to grow coffee; which was brought thither in 1721 by ſome deſerters, who purchaſed their pardon by conveying it from Surinam, where they had taken refuge. Ten or twelve years after, they planted cocoa. In 1752, 260,541 pounds weight of arnotto, 80,363 pounds of ſugar, 17,919 pounds of cotton, 26,881 pounds of coffee, 91,916 pounds of cocoa, 618 trees for timber, and 104 planks, were exported from the colony. All theſe articles were the reſult of the labour of ninety French families, a hundred and twenty-five Indians, and fifteen hundred blacks; which made up the whole of the colony.

Such, and weaker ſtill, was the ſtate of Cayenne, when, in 1763, the court of Verſailles endeavoured to render it extremely flouriſhing, by a ſyſtem which occaſioned a general aſtoniſhment. The French had then juſt emerged from the horrors of an unſucceſsful war. The ſituation of affairs had determined the miniſtry to purchaſe peace with the ceſſion

ſion of ſeveral important colonies. It appeared equally neceſſary to make the nation forget her diſtreſſes, and the errors that had been the cauſe of them. The proſpect of better fortune might amuſe the people, and ſilence their clamours; while their attention was removed from poſſeſſions the nation had loſt, and turned towards Guiana, which, it was pretended, would compenſate all their misfortunes.

THIS vaſt country, which was long diſtinguiſhed by the pompous title of Equinoxial France, was not the ſole property of that power, as ſhe had formerly pretended. The Dutch, by ſettling to the north, and the Portugueſe to the ſouth, had confined the French between the rivers of Maroni and Vincent Pinçon; which limits were fixed by ſeveral treaties. Theſe boundaries were equally diſtant from Cayenne; and the extent between them comprehends no leſs than a hundred leagues of the ſea-coaſt. The navigation along this coaſt is extremely difficult, on account of the rapidity of the currents, and is continually obſtructed by ſmall iſlands, banks of ſand, and of hardened mud, and by ſtrong mangroves cloſely entangled that extend two or three leagues into the ſea. There is no harbour, and few places where ſhips can land; and the lighteſt ſloops often meet with inſuperable obſtacle. The large and numerous rivers that water this continent are not more navigable. Their bed in many places is barred by vaſt rocks, which makes it impoſſible to ſail through them. The ſhore, which is generally flat, is moſtly overflowed

by the ſpring-tides. In the inland country, moſt of the low lands become moraſſes alſo in the rainy ſeaſon. Then there is no ſafety but upon the higher grounds. Theſe inundations, however, that ſuſpend all the labours of huſbandry, contribute to render the heat more ſupportable, without producing that malignant influence upon the climate which might be apprehended from them. Uncertain conjectures can only be formed of the population of the inland parts. That of the ſea-coaſt may amount to nine or ten thouſand men, divided into ſeveral nations, the moſt powerful of which are the Galibis. Some miſſionaries, by great attention and perſeverance, have found means to fix ſome of theſe roving nations, and even to reconcile them to the French, againſt whom they had with reaſon entertained the ſtrongeſt prejudices. The firſt adventurers who frequented this country, took away or bought men, whom they condemned to the hardeſt labours of ſlavery on the very ſoil where they were born free, or ſold them to the coloniſts of the Caribbee iſlands. Their common price at firſt was twenty piſtoles * a head. Happily for the inhabitants, they roſe ſo exorbitantly in their demands, that no purchaſers could be found. It was thought preferable to purchaſe negroes, who were almoſt as expert at hunting and fiſhing, and better ſkilled in the labours of the great plantations that were then carrying on in every part.

GUIANA, as we have deſcribed it, appeared a very valuable reſource to the French miniſtry, re-

* 161. 15 s.

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duced as they were to the neceſſity of correcting the great miſtakes they had commited. A few conſiderations will enable us to judge of their motives.

AMERICA preſents itſelf to Europe under two different points of view. It offers to thoſe, who emigrate from us, two zones to be peopled and cultivated, the torrid, and the northern temperate zone. The firſt, more fruitful, and richer, but merely ſo in articles of luxury and indulgence, muſt therefore have afforded the brighteſt proſpect, and ſooner given a more extenſive influence to thoſe powers that made themſelves maſters of it. This zone being more apparently calculated for deſpotiſm, becauſe the heat of the climate, and the fertility of the ſoil, diſpoſe men to become ſlaves for the ſake of eaſe and pleaſure, was therefore moſt fit to be in the poſſeſſion of abſolute monarchies, and to be peopled with ſlaves, who ſhould only cultivate ſuch productions as were proper to enervate the vigour and elaſticity of the fibres, by increaſing the number of our moſt lively ſenſations. The mines that abound there, affording the means of obtaining wealth without labour, muſt naturally haſten the decay of ſtates, by the occaſion they afford of exciting our deſires and our facility of enjoyments. The nations that inhabit that zone muſt, therefore, either ſink into indolence, or engage in undertakings ſuggeſted by an ambition which becomes ſo much the more dangerous from its firſt ſucceſſes. As thoſe ſtates miſtook the conſequences or ſigns of wealth for the original ſource and cauſe of poli-

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tical ſtrength, they imagined, that with money they could keep the nations in their pay, as they kept the negroes in their chains; and never conſidered that the very means which would procure them allies, would turn them into ſo many powerful enemies; who, uniting their arms with the riches of foreign powers, would exert this double force to ſubvert the whole.

THE temperate zone of North-America could only attract free and laborious people. It furniſhes no productions but what are common and neceſſary; and which, for that very reaſon, are a conſtant ſource of wealth and ſtrength. It favours population, by ſupplying materials for that quiet and peaceful ſpecies of huſbandry which fixes and multiplies families; and, as it does not excite inordinate deſires, is a ſecurity againſt invaſion. It reaches through an immenſe continent, and preſents a large extent of country, on every ſide open to navigation. Its coaſts are waſhed by a ſea which is generally navigable, and abounds with harbours. The coloniſts are not at ſo great a diſtance from the mother country; they live in a climate more analogous to their own; and in a ſituation that is fit for hunting, fiſhing, huſbandry, and for all the manly exerciſes and labours which improve the ſtrength of the body, and are preſervatives againſt the vices that taint the mind. Thus, in America as in Europe, the north will have the ſuperiority over the ſouth. The one will be covered with inhabitants and plantations; while the other will laviſh its voluptuous liquors, and its golden mines.

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The one will be able to civilize the ſavage nations by their intercourſe with a free people; the other will only produce a monſtrous feeble mixture of a race of ſlaves with a nation of tyrants, which can never acquire any degree of ſtrength.

It was of great importance to the ſouthern colonies to have their reſources for population and ſtrength in the north, where they might exchange the commodities of luxury for thoſe of neceſſity, and keep open a communication that might afford them ſuccours if they were attacked; a retreat in caſe they were defeated, and a ſupply of land forces to balance the weakneſs of their naval reſources.

Before the laſt war, the French ſouthern colonies enjoyed this advantage. Canada, by its ſituation, the warlike genius of its inhabitants, their alliances with the Indian nations in friendſhip with the French, and fond of the frankneſs and freedom of their manners, might balance, or at leaſt give umbrage to, New-England. The loſs of that great continent determined the French miniſtry to ſeek for ſupport from another. Guiana was thought a very proper ſituation for this purpoſe, if a free and national population could be eſtabliſhed there, which might be able to reſiſt foreign attacks, and, in courſe of time, to furniſh a ſpeedy aſſiſtance to the other colonies, when circumſtances might require it.

Such was evidently the ſyſtem of the miniſter. He did not imagine, that a part of the world thus inhabited, could ever enrich the mother-country by the produce of ſuch commodities as are peculiar to the

the ſouthern colonies. He was too intelligent not to know, that there is no ſuch thing as ſelling, without complying with the general run of the market; and that this cannot be done but by producing ſaleable commodities at the ſame rate as other nations can afford them; and that labours, executed by free men, muſt of neceſſity bear a much higher price than thoſe that are exacted from ſlaves.

The meaſures were directed by an active miniſter. As a wiſe politician who does not ſacrifice ſafety to wealth, he only propoſed to raiſe a bulwark to protect the French poſſeſſions. As a philoſopher who feels for his fellow-creatures, who knows and reſpects the rights of humanity, he wiſhed to people theſe fertile but deſert regions with free men. But genius, eſpecially when too impatient of ſucceſs, cannot foreſee every circumcumſtance. The miſtake proceeded from ſuppoſing, that Europeans would be able to undergo the fatigues of preparing lands for cultivation under the torrid zone; that men, who quitted their own country only in hopes of living with greater ſatisfaction in another, would accommodate themſelves to the precarious ſubſiſtence of a ſavage life in a worſe climate than that which they had left; or, laſtly, that it would be an eaſy matter to eſtabliſh an intercourſe of importance between Guiana and the French iſlands.

This bad ſyſtem, which the government was drawn into by a ſet of enterpriſing men, who were either miſled by their preſumption, or who

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ſacrificed the public good to their own private views, was as extravagantly executed as it had been inconſiderately adopted. Every thing was blended together, without any principle of legiſlation, and without conſidering in what manner nature had adapted the ſeveral lands to the men who were to inhabit them. The inhabitants were divided into two claſſes, the proprietors and the mercenaries. It was not conſidered, that this diviſion, at preſent eſtabliſhed in Europe and in moſt civilized nations, was the conſequence of wars, of revolutions, and of the numberleſs chances which time produces; that it was the effect of the progreſs of civilization, not the baſis and foundation of ſociety, which in its origin requires that all its members ſhould have ſome property. Colonies, which are new populations and new ſocieties, ought to adhere to this fundamentale rule. It was broken through at the very firſt eſtabliſhment of the colony, by allotting lands in Guiana to thoſe only who were able to advance a certain fund for the cultivation of them. Others, whoſe deſires were tempted with uncertain hopes, were excluded from this diviſion of lands. This was an error equally contrary to found policy and humanity. Had a portion of land been given to every new inhabitant that was ſent over to this barren and deſert country, each perſon would have cultivated his own ſpot in proportion to his ſtrength or abilities; one by the means his money would have afforded him; another, by his own labour. It was neceſſary that thoſe, who were poſſeſſed of a capital, ſhould neither

neither be discouraged, because they were men of great importance to a rising colony; nor that they should have an exclusive preference given them, lest it should prevent them from having assistants who might be willing to be dependent on them. It was also indispensably necessary, that every member of the new colony should be offered some property, with which he might employ his labour, his industry, his money; in a word, his greater or lesser powers to his advantage. It ought to have been foreseen, that Europeans, in whatever situation they were, would not quit their own country, but with the hopes of improving their fortune; and that deceiving their hopes and confidence in this respect would be an effectual way to ruin the colony intended to be established.

In vain did government supply the colonists with two years subsistence. This was too great a supply at one time. It must spoil, either in the transport, or at the end of the voyage. The very passage, in which some part must be consumed, and the rest injured, could not but make these provisions dear, scarce, and noxious. A hot climate, and a damp country, would be additional causes of putrefaction among the provisions, and of sickness and mortality among the men. It would have been a folly to pretend to carry over from Europe to Guiana a sufficient quantity of live cattle, to furnish fresh meat every day for a numerous colony. Most of them would have died, either in the passage, or at their arrival; for, as animals are more immediately under the influence of nature, they are the more affected by the sudden

alterations of the air, and by the change of climate and food.

THE increaſe of cattle ſhould have preceded that of men. Both ſhould have multiplied by degrees; and the ſeeds of culture in that diſtant region ſhould have been firſt prepared, before the inhabitants were become too numerous. The firſt exports ſhould have been inconſiderable, and attended with every advance, every aſſiſtance neceſſary for clearing the lands. In proportion as the infant colony ſhould have produced enough, and even more than was neceſſary for its own conſumption, the purchaſe of the overplus would have become a ſource of increaſe. Agriculture and population would then have mutually aſſiſted and promoted each other. The new coloniſts would have excited others to follow their example; and ſociety, like individuals, would have arrived at its proper ſtrength and maturity in the ſpace of twenty years.

THESE very plain and natural reflections never occurred to the contrivers of this ſcheme. Twelve thouſand men, after a tedious navigation, were landed upon dreary and inhoſpitable ſhores. It is well known, that, almoſt throughout the torrid zone, the year is divided into two ſeaſons, the dry, and the rainy. In Guiana, ſuch heavy rains fall, from the beginning of November to the end of May, that the lands are either overflowed, or at leaſt unfit for tillage. Had the new coloniſts arrived there in the beginning of the dry ſeaſon, and been placed on the lands deſtined for them, they would have had time to put their habitations in

order, to cut down or burn the woods, and to plough and ſow their fields.

For want of theſe precautions, they knew not where to beſtow ſuch multitudes of people as were conſtantly pouring in juſt at the rainy ſeaſon. The iſland of Cayenne might have been a proper place for the reception and refreſhment of the new comers, till they could have been diſpoſed of; there they might have found lodging and aſſiſtance. But the falſe opinion which prevailed, that the new colony muſt not be intermixed with the old, deprived them of this reſource. In conſequence of this prejudice, twelve thouſand men, devoted to deſtruction, were landed on the banks of the Kourou, on a ridge of ſand, amidſt a number of unwholeſome little iſlands, and only ſheltered under a miſerable awning. In this ſituation, totally inactive, and weary of exiſtence, they gave themſelves up to all the irregularities that idleneſs neceſſarily produces among men of the loweſt claſs, removed far from their native country, and placed under a foreign ſky: there they fell into a ſtate of miſery, and were ſeized with contagious diſtempers, the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch a ſituation; and their wretched life was at length terminated in all the horrors of deſpair. Their fate will ever call aloud for vengeance on thoſe who either invented, or promoted this deſtructive ſcheme; a ſcheme, which, though attended with ſuch conſiderable expences, terminated in the ſudden deſtruction of ſo many unfortunate men; as if the devaſtations of war, which they were intended to repair, had not

ſwept away a ſufficient number in the courſe of eight years.

THAT nothing might be wanting to complete this horrid tragedy, fifteen hundred men, who had eſcaped this dreadful calamity, were waſhed away by the floods. They were diſtributed upon lands, where they were overflowed at the return of the rains, and every one of them periſhed, without leaving behind them any poſterity, or the leaſt trace of their memory.

THE ſtate has deeply lamented this loſs, and has impeached and puniſhed the principal author of it. But how dreadful is it for our country, for the ſubjects, for every man who is intereſted in the lives of his fellow citizens, to ſee them thus laviſhed upon ruinous enterpriſes by an abſurd jealouſy of authority, which enjoins the moſt rigorous ſecrecy upon all public operations. Is it not then the intereſt of the whole nation that her rulers ſhould be well informed? And how can they be ſo, but from collecting general information? Why ſhould projects, of which the people are to be both the object and the inſtrument, be concealed from them? Can the will be commanded without the judgment, or can we inſpire courage without confidence? The only true information is to be obtained from public writings, where truth appears undiſguiſed, and falſehood fears to be detected. Secret memoirs, private ſchemes, are commonly the work of artful and intereſted men, who inſinuate themſelves into the cabinets of perſons in adminiſtration by dark, oblique, and indirect ways.

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When a prince or a miniſter has acted according to the opinion of the public, or of enlightened men; if he is unfortunate, he cannot on any account be blamed. But, when enterpriſes are undertaken without the advice or againſt the ſenſe of the people; when events are brought on unknown to thoſe whoſe lives and fortunes are expoſed by them; what can this be but a ſecret league, a combination of a few individuals, againſt ſociety in general? Can it be poſſible, that authority ſhould think itſelf degraded by an intercourſe with the citizens? Or will men in power for ever treat the reſt of mankind with ſo great a degree of contempt, as not even to deſire that the injuries they have done them ſhould be forgiven?

What has been the conſequence of that cataſtrophe, in which ſo many ſubjects, ſo many foreigners, have been ſacrificed to the illuſions of the French miniſtry with reſpect to Guiana? This unhappy climate has been inveighed againſt with all the rancour with which reſentment and misfortune can aggravate its real evils. It has been aſſerted, that colonies would never be brought to flouriſh there, even if thoſe very principles of culture and adminiſtration, by which all other colonies have proſpered were to be adopted. This opinion is grounded upon the barrenneſs of the ſoil, the exceſſive dampneſs of the climate, the prodigious ſwarms of ants that infeſt the country, and the facility the ſlaves have of deſerting from the manufactures. Theſe complaints are in ſome degree true, but ſomewhat exaggerated.

BECAUSE the iſland of Cayenne is not very fertile, it cannot ſurely without injuſtice be inferred, that the neighbouring continent is entirely unfit for cultivation. Thoſe, who make this inference, have only obſerved the marſhy coaſts of this vaſt country. But thoſe who have penetrated into the inland parts, are of a very different opinion; and the few experiments already made, contradict a prejudice founded merely on the firſt appearances.

THE apprehenſions ariſing from the duration of the rains are not ſo ill-grounded. This defect in the ſeaſons endangers the lives of the cultivators, increaſes the fatigues of their labour, and renders their crops precarious, eſpecially that of ſugar, which has hitherto been leſs plentiful on the continent, and inferior in quality to that which comes from the iſlands. But it is not to be doubted, that the inundations will in a great meaſure ſubſide, when the woods are cleared away, which have covered theſe vaſt deſerts from the beginning of the world. Trees attract the rains and dews; and keep the ground damp by excluding the rays of the ſun. If we remove theſe great vegetables, which by their deep roots and wide-extended bows, abſorb and pump up all the juices of vegetation that circulate either in the internal part, or in the atmoſphere of the globe, nothing will remain but a moiſture which will be ſerviceable to the plantations.

AT preſent the greater part of them are overrun with ants, and many to ſuch a degree as ſometimes to baffle the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs. But this is an evil that every new ſettlement

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in America has experienced, and which in time they have been freed from. Many do not now ſuffer any inconvenience from it; the reſt but little. Guiana will be leſs ſubject to it, in proportion as the lands are cleared.

As to the negroes, if there is any danger of their running away, of their collecting together in a body, and intrenching themſelves in the woods, it is the tyranny of their maſters that compels them to it. No doubt this inconvenience is greater on the continent than in the iſlands; but the deſertion of theſe unhappy men will be prevented whenever their condition is made tolerable. The law of neceſſity, which reſtrains even tyrants, will preſcribe that moderation in Guiana that humanity alone ſhould inſpire every where.

The obſtacle leaſt attended to, though the moſt inſuperable of all, is the difficulty, nay the impoſſibility, of undertaking any conſiderable plantations on the coaſts of Guiana. That coaſt which lies to the ſouth of Cayenne, for the ſpace of twenty leagues, preſents only a marſhy ground, which is overflowed by the tides twice a month, at the new and full moon, and dried up again in the interval between theſe two periods. The coaſt, on the north, is conſtantly under water for ſix months in the year, and its fertility muſt therefore be very precarious. The ſugar-cane dies there the firſt time it bears, which increaſes labour without augmenting the produce. In other reſpects this part of the coaſt is alſo very unwholeſome. An eaſterly wind conſtantly drives thither all the malignant vapours

pours which the heat of the ſun draws from the ſwampy grounds of the ſouthern coaſt.

The rivers of Cayenne, Aprouac, Oyapoko, Kourou, and Maroni, are not ſubject to the ſame inconveniences in their courſe. Upon the river Sinemary there ſtill are five or ſix hundred men ſubſiſting, who eſcaped from the general diſaſters of the colony. They enjoy the moſt perfect health; their little plantations ſucceed to the utmoſt of their wiſhes; and the increaſe of their cattle is prodigious. The ſame advantages are to be expected from the higheſt borders of the other rivers; ſome of them are even more fit for navigation, either in boats, or in ſmall veſſels.

All theſe diſcuſſions evidently ſhew that France ought not to give up the cultivation of Guiana. At firſt, the ſugar will be watery and inſipid, and there will be but little of it; but it has ſeldom been better in any grounds that have been newly cleared. Coffee, cocoa, and cotton, are better in Guiana than in the Caribbee iſlands. Tobacco muſt thrive there. Indigo, which formerly grew there in great plenty, has degenerated, but may be retrieved by freſh ſeeds from St. Domingo. The arnotto is of little value there, but the ſale of it is certain. The Vanilla is the natural produce of the country; but no profit has been hitherto made of it, becauſe the pods rot as ſoon as they are gathered. It would, however, be an eaſy matter to inquire into the method of managing the trees that bear it, and to enrich Guiana with this branch of trade.

LARGE exportations of rice, wood, cattle, and ſalt-fiſh, can hardly be expected from thence. The colony might, indeed, atttempt theſe things; but a good market would be wanting. The only one within a proper diſtance would be the French windward iſlands, and this could never be very conſiderable. Thoſe ſettlements having nothing to give in exchange for theſe commodities, the expences of navigation would neceſſarily make the trade very inconſiderable.

BUT ſtill this laſt connection may fail, and yet that between Guiana and the mother-country will not ſuffer in the leaſt. The whole will depend upon the encouragement the court of Verſailles may beſtow upon the eſtabliſhment. It is not attended with more difficulties than that of Surinam was, where more conſtant labour and greater means have never produced ſo much increaſe as in the iſlands. Yet Surinam is at this day covered with rich plantations. Why ſhould not France give Guiana the ſame advantages as this colony of the Dutch enjoys? This may be done by beſtowing ſuch aſſiſtances and gratuities as every ſtate ought to diſpenſe when large tracts of land, which may turn out to be of great utility, are to be cleared. Theſe clearings of rude lands are in reality, as it were, ſo many conqueſts over a chaos of confuſion, for the general advantage of mankind; different from thoſe conqueſts by which whole provinces are depopulated and laid waſte, in order to take poſſeſſion of them; which coſt the blood of two nations to enrich neither; which muſt be defended

at a great expence, and filled with troops for many ages, before the poſſeſſion of them can be quietly ſecured. Guiana requires nothing but labour and inhabitants. How powerful then the motives for encouraging both!

This colony may at pleaſure multiply its cattle and increaſe its ſubſiſtence. It would be difficult to invade it, and ſtill more to block it up; it will, therefore, never be conquered. The Caribbee iſlands, on the contrary, as they have once been taken, are looked upon with regret by a nation exaſperated at the reſtitution of them. Her chagrin makes it probable ſhe will always be diſpoſed to recover by force of arms what ſhe has loſt by negociation. The well-grounded confidence ſhe places in her navy, and in the flouriſhing condition of her northern colonies, will, perhaps, ſoon engage her in a freſh war, in order to retake what was given up at the laſt peace. Should fortune again favour the wiſe adminiſtration of her happy government; ſhould a people, encouraged by victories of which they themſelves only reap the benefits, always have the ſuperiority over a nation that fights only for her kings; Guiana would, at leaſt, afford a great reſource, where all ſuch articles as cuſtom has made neceſſary, might be cultivated, and for which an extravagant duty muſt be paid to foreigners, if the nation cannot be ſupplied with them from her own colonies.

Nothing has yet been done towards ſecuring the advantages which this ſettlement preſents. In January 1769, it conſiſted only of 1,291 free men, and

and 8,047 ſlaves. The herds did not amount to more than 1,923 head of black cattle, and 1,077 of ſmall. The produce of the colony was even inadequate to theſe means, inconſiderable as they were, becauſe the works were carried on by white men without ſkill, and blacks under no degree of ſubordination. A greater degree of knowledge, and a better diſcipline, will in time take place. Till that happy period arrives, let us turn our thoughts from the conſideration of Guiana to that of St. Lucia.

The poſſeſſion of St. Lucia, for a long time diſputed, is at laſt ceded to the French.

THE Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this iſland without oppoſition, in the beginning of the year 1639. They lived there peaceably for a year and a half, when a ſhip of their own nation, which had been overtaken by a calm off Dominica, carried off ſome Caribs, who were come in their canoes to bring them fruit. This violence occaſioned the ſavages of St. Vincent and Martinico to join the offended ſavages; and, in Auguſt 1640, they all attacked the new colony. In their fury, they maſſacred every one that oppoſed them. The few who eſcaped their vengeance, quitted for ever a ſettlement that could not have arrived to any conſiderable degree of proſperity.

IN the firſt ages of the world, before civil ſocieties were formed and poliſhed, all men in general had a common right to every thing upon earth. Every one was free to take what he pleaſed for his own uſe, and even to conſume it, if it were of a periſhable nature. The uſe that was thus made of a common right, ſupplied the place of property. As ſoon as any one had in this manner taken poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of any thing, it could not be taken from him by another without injuſtice. It was in this point of view, which can only be applied to the primitive ſtate of nature, that the European nations conſidered America when it was firſt diſcovered. They paid no regard to the natives, and imagined they were ſufficiently authoriſed to ſeize upon any country, if no other nation of our continent were in poſſeſſion of it. Such was conſtantly and uniformly the only public right obſerved in the new world, and which men have not ſcrupled to avow and attempt to juſtify in this century during the late hoſtilities.

From theſe principles, which the author of a philoſophical hiſtory of commerce would diſdain to approve, St. Lucia was to belong to any power that could or would people it. The French attempted it firſt. They ſent over forty inhabitants in 1650, under the conduct of Rouſſelan, a brave, active, prudent man, and ſingularly beloved by the natives, on account of his having married one of their women. His death, which happened four years after, put a ſtop to the general good he had begun to effect. Three of his ſucceſſors were murdered by the diſcontented Caribs, who were diſſatisfied with their behaviour to them; and the colony was declining when it was taken in 1664 by the Engliſh, who evacuated it in 1666.

They had ſcarce left it, when the French appeared again on the iſland. Whatever was the cauſe, they had not greatly increaſed their number, when the enemy, that had before driven them out, again

again forced them to quit their habitations twenty years after. Some, inſtead of evacuating the iſland, took refuge in the woods. As ſoon as the conquerors, who had made only a temporary invaſion, were gone, they reſumed their labours; but this continued only for a ſhort time. The war, which ſoon after raged in Europe, made them apprehenſive that they might fall a prey to the firſt privateer that ſhould be deſirous of plundering them; with a view, therefore, of obtaining greater tranquillity, they removed to other French ſettlements, which were either ſtronger, or might expect to be better defended. There was then no regular culture or colony in St. Lucia. It was only frequented by the inhabitants of Martinico, who came thither to cut wood, and to build canoes, and who had conſiderable docks on the iſland.

Some ſoldiers and ſailors having deſerted thither after the peace of Utrecht, Marſhal d'Eſtrees petitioned for a grant of the iſland. No ſooner was it obtained in 1718, than he ſent over a commandant, troops, cannon, and inhabitants. This gave umbrage to the court of London, which had a kind of claim to this iſland from prior ſettlement, as that of Verſailles had from almoſt uninterrupted poſſeſſion. Their complaints determined the French miniſtry, to order that things ſhould be put into the ſame condition they were in before the grant. Whether this compliance did not appear ſufficient to the Engliſh, or whether it gave them room to think they might attempt any thing, they themſelves gave St. Lucia in 1722 to the duke

duke of Montagu, who was ſent to take poſſeſſion of it. This claſhing of intereſts occaſioned ſome diſturbance between the two courts; which was ſettled, however, by an agrement made in 1731, that, till the reſpective claims ſhould be finally adjuſted, the iſland ſhould be evacuated by both nations; but that both ſhould wood and water there.

THIS precarious agreement furniſhed an opportunity for private intereſt to exert itſelf. The Engliſh no longer moleſted the French in the enjoyment of their habitations; but employed them as a channel to aſſiſt them in carrying on with richer colonies a ſmuggling trade, which the ſubjects of both governments thought equally advantageous to them. This trade has been more or leſs conſiderable till the treaty of 1763, which ſecured to France the long-conteſted property of St. Lucia.

Changes made in St. Lucia, when ceded to the French.

THE firſt uſe which the court of Verſailles propoſed to make of her acquiſition, was to eſtabliſh a magazine there. It had been the general opinion for ſome years paſt, that the wood and cattle of North-America was abſolutely neceſſary for theſe ſouthern colonies. It was found inconvenient to carry them directly thither; and St. Lucia was fixed upon as a very proper place for the exchange of theſe commodities againſt the molaſſes of Martinico and Guadalupe. Experience ſoon ſhewed that this ſcheme was impracticable.

IN order to effect this, the Engliſh muſt either depoſite their cargoes in ſtore-houſes, or keep them on board, or ſell them to traders ſettled on the iſland; three things equally impoſſible.

THESE

THESE ſailors will never conſent to loſe ſight of their cattle, as the expences they would incur for having them taken care of, for their food, or to ſecure them from accidents, would infallibly ruin them. Neither will they pay for warehouſes for their wood, which is too cheap and too bulky a commodity to be worth the charge of ſtore-room. Nor can it be expected that they ſhould quietly ſit on board their ſhips, waiting till ſome traders ſhould come from the French iſlands to deal with them: the nature of their trade will not admit of ſuch delays. The only method left to tranſact this buſineſs, would be by means of traders who might ſettle on the iſland as brokers; but the profit they muſt neceſſarily make, would enhance the price of the merchandiſe ſo much, that it would be impoſſible to carry on the trade through their channel.

THE difficulties are not leſs on the ſide of the proprietors of molaſſes, than on that of the dealers in northern commodities. Accuſtomed to ſell their ſpirit at thirty-five or thirty ſix livres * a hogſhead, they would never conſent to an abatement of two-fifths, which muſt be allowed for carriage, emptying out, and commiſſion. If the Engliſh are obliged to pay a higher price for the molaſſes, they muſt conſequently raiſe that of their own commodities, and this advance will make them too dear for the conſumer.

THE French miniſtry, undeceived as to their firſt notion, without entirely giving it up, have turned

* About 1l. 11s.

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turned their thoughts to the cultivation of St. Lucia. In 1763, they ſent over, at a great expence, and with unneceſſary parade, ſeven or eight hundred men, whoſe unhappy fate is more a matter of pity than ſurprize. Under the tropics the beſt eſtabliſhed colonies always deſtroy one third of the ſoldiers that are ſent thither, though they are healthy ſtout men, and find good accommodations. It is not ſurpriſing then, that a ſet of miſerable wretches, the refuſe of Europe, and expoſed to all the hardſhips of indigence, and all the horrors of deſpair, ſhould moſt of them periſh in an uncultivated iſland.

THE advantage of peopling this colony was reſerved to the neighbouring ſettlements. Some Frenchmen, who had ſold, upon very profitable terms to themſelves, their plantations at the Granades to the Engliſh, brought part of their capital to St. Lucia. Several planters from St. Vincents, incenſed at being obliged to buy lands which they themſelves had been at incredible pains to clear and fertilize, took the ſame ſtep. Martinico alſo furniſhed ſome inhabitants, whoſe poſſeſſions were either not ſufficiently fertile, or too much confined, and traders who devoted part of their ſtock to huſbandry. Each of theſe has obtained the free grant of a ſpot of land proportioned to his abilities. Thoſe whoſe means were ſmall, have confined themſelves to ſuch labours as required no great advances. Thoſe who were richer have ventured on greater undertakings.

THERE

THERE are already nine pariſhes on the colony, eight to leeward, and only one to windward. This preference given to one part of the iſland, is not for the ſake of a better ſoil, but for the convenience of the ſhipping. In time, that part that was neglected at firſt, will likewiſe be inhabited, as there are bays continually diſcovered, in which canoes may put in, and receive all kinds of commodities on board.

A ROAD which goes all round the iſland, and two others that croſs it from eaſt to weſt, are very convenient for carrying the produce of the plantations to the landing places. In proceſs of time, and with ſome expence, theſe roads will be brought to a much greater degree of perfection than it was poſſible they ſhould be at firſt, without running into expences too burdenſome for a ſettlement in its infant ſtate. The labours of vaſſalage required for making theſe roads, have unavoidably retarded the culture of the lands, and excited great complaints, but the coloniſts now begin to bleſs the wiſe and ſteady hand that has ordered and conducted this work for their benefit.

ON the firſt of January, 1772, the number of white people in the iſland amounted to 2018 ſouls, men, women, and children; that of the blacks to 663 freemen, and 12,795 ſlaves. The cattle conſiſted of 928 mules or horſes, 2070 head of horned cattle, and 3184 ſheep or goats. There were thirty-eight ſugar-plantations, which occupied 978 pieces of land; 5,395,889 coffee-trees; 1,321,600 cocoa plants; and 367 plots of

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cotton. They were divided into ſeven hundred and ſix dwelling places. The preſent produce is four millions of livres * ; a revenue which for ſome time muſt increaſe one eighth every year.

A GENERAL prejudice prevailed in theſe iſlands againſt St. Lucia. It was ſaid, that nature had refuſed it every advantage neceſſary to form a colony of any importance. In the opinion of the public, its dry and ſtony ſoil could never pay the expence of manuring. The inclemency of the climate would infallibly deſtroy every man, who, from a ſtrong deſire of enriching himſelf, or who, driven by deſpair, ſhould be bold enough to ſettle there. Theſe notions were univerſally received.

SUCCESSFUL experience muſt at length undeceive the moſt prejudiced perſon. The ſoil of St. Lucia is not a bad one even by the ſea ſide, and is better the further one advances in the country. The whole of the iſland may be cultivated with ſucceſs, except ſome high and craggy mountains, which bear evident marks of old volcanos. In one deep valley there are ſtill eight or ten ponds, the water of which boils up in a moſt dreadful manner, and retains ſome of its heat at the diſtance of ſix thouſand toiſes from its reſervoirs. There are not, indeed, many extenſive plains on the iſland, but ſeveral ſmall ones, where the growth of ſugar may be carried to fifteen millions weight. The ſhape of the iſland, which is long and narrow, will make the carriage eaſy, wherever the canes are planted.

THE

* 175,000l.

THE air in the inland parts of St. Lucia is the ſame as it was in all the other iſlands before they were inhabited, foul and unwholeſome at firſt; but leſs noxious as the woods are cleared, and the ground laid open. The air on ſome part of the ſea-coaſt is more unhealthy. On the leeward ſide the lands receive ſome ſmall rivers, which, ſpringing from the foot of the mountains, have not a ſlope ſufficient to waſh down the ſands with which the influx of the ocean choaks up their mouths. Stopped by this inſurmountable barrier, they ſpread themſelves into unwholeſome moraſſes upon the neighbouring grounds. So obvious a reaſon had been ſufficient to drive away the few Caribs who were found upon the iſland when it was firſt diſcovered. The French, driven into the new world by a more powerful motive than even ſelf-preſervation, have been leſs careful than the ſavages. It is in this very ſpot that they have chiefly fixed their plantations. They will ſooner or later be puniſhed for their blind rapaciouſneſs, unleſs they erect dykes, and dig canals, to drain off the waters. The health they enjoy along the rivers, where the ſhips are careened, and thoſe in which the rain waters are collected, which fall into deeper bays, ſeems to indicate that this expedient would ſucceed.

THE character and abilities of the Earl of Ennery, the founder of this colony, authorize us to affirm, that when this iſland, which is about forty-five leagues in circumference, has attained the degree of cultivation it is capable of, it may employ fifty thouſand ſlaves, and carry on a trade to

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the amount of ten millions * yearly. This period of proſperity cannot even be very diſtant, as the activity of the planters is releaſed from thoſe fetters which have retarded their progreſs every where elſe. Fifty men, appointed to maintain good order, are all the troops they have at St. Lucia. They pay no taxes, directly or indirectly. Ships of all nations are admitted into their roads, and pay nothing at coming in or going out. Every one is free to bring thither what merchandiſe he can ſell at the cheapeſt rate, and to carry away ſuch commodities as will procure the beſt price. Ever ſince Europe has acquired poſſeſſions in America, none has met with more indulgence. Such ſingular favour muſt undoubtedly have a period, and this iſland, like all the others, will one day be brought under the yoke of reſtrictive laws. But a few years peace and freedom will enable her to bear this burden.

Schemes of France to ſecure to itſelf the poſſeſſion of St. Lucia.

BEFORE this burden is impoſed, the mother country will take care to ſecure to herſelf the produce of an iſland which ſhe has put into a flouriſhing condition. To keep poſſeſſion of it, it will be ſufficient to defend the Careenage harbour.

THIS famous harbour unites many advantages. It has good ſoundings every where, with an excellent bottom. Nature has provided it with three careening places, which make a wharf needleſs, and only require the capſtern to heave the ſhip down on the ſhore. Thirty ſhips of the line might ride ſafely there, and be ſheltered from the hurricanes,

* 437,500l.

canes, without the trouble of mooring. The boats of that country, which have lain there for a long while, have never been injured by the worms; it is not, however, expected that this advantage will continue, whatever may be the immediate cauſe of it. The winds are always favourable for ſailing out; and the largeſt ſquadron would be cleared out in leſs than an hour.

So favourable a ſituation is capable of defending not only all the national poſſeſſions, but alſo of threatening thoſe of the enemy throughout America. The naval forces of England cannot cover all parts. The ſmalleſt ſquadron ſent out from St. Lucia, would in a few days invade thoſe colonies, which, being leaſt expoſed, would think themſelves quite ſecure. The only way to prevent this danger, would be to block up the Careenage; and even then, the purport of ſo expenſive and tireſome a cruize might be defeated by a man who ſhould be bold enough to undertake any enterpriſe that can be effected at ſea.

This harbour, which is ſubject to the inconvenience of expoſing every ſhip that comes within view to be taken, has never appeared worthy the attention of the Britiſh nation, though too powerful and too enlightened not to conſider, that ſhips are to protect the roads, and not the roads the ſhips. With regard to France, this harbour affords the greateſt maritime defence, a poſition that will not allow a ſhip under ſail to enter. She muſt be warped for a conſiderable ſpace before ſhe can get into it. There is no plying to windward between

the two points. The ſoundings increaſing ſuddenly near the land from twenty-five to a hundred fathom, will not permit the aſſailants to come to an anchor. Only one ſhip can come in at a time, and ſhe would be expoſed to the fire of three maſked batteries in front and on both ſides.

A SHIP that would attack the harbour would be under the neceſſity of landing at Shoque-bay, a ſhore a league long, which is only parted from the Careenage by the point called Vigie, which forms this bay. If the enemy were once maſters of the Vigie, they would ſink every ſhip in the harbour, or at leaſt compel them to bring to, and that without any loſs on their ſide; becauſe this peninſula, though commanded by a citadel built on the other ſide of the harbour, would cover the aſſailants by its own back. It would only have occaſion for mortars, and neither fire a ſingle gun, nor endanger the life of one man.

IF ſhutting up the entrance of the harbour againſt the enemy were ſufficient, it would be needleſs to fortify the Vigie. The enemy might be kept out without this precaution; but the ſhips of the French muſt be protected. It is neceſſary that a ſmall ſquadron ſhould be able to ſet the Engliſh forces at defiance; compel them to block up the place; take advantage of their abſence, or of ſome error they might fall into; all which cannot be effected without fortifying the top of the peninſula. It muſt be conſidered, that by thus multiplying the points of defence, a greater number of men will be wanted; but if there are

any ſhips in the harbour, their ſailors and gunners may be employed in defending the Vigie, which they would do with the greater alacrity, as on this would depend the ſafety of the ſquadron. If there are no veſſels in the harbour, the Vigie will be abandoned, or ill defended, and that for the following reaſon.

On the other ſide of the harbour there is an eminence, called *Morne Fortuné*. The flat on the top offers one of thoſe favourable ſituations that are ſeldom to be met with, for erecting a citadel, which would require almoſt as great a force to attack it, as the beſt fortified place in Europe. This fortification, the plan of which is already laid, and will certainly one day be carried into execution, will have the advantage of defending the Careenage bay on all ſides, of commanding all the eminences that ſurround it, and of making it impoſſible for the enemy to enter; of ſecuring the town which is to be built on the back of the mountain; in ſhort, of hindering the aſſailants from penetrating into the iſland, even if they had actually landed at Shoque bay, and made themſelves maſters of the Vigie. Further diſcuſſions on the means of preſerving St. Lucia muſt be left to the profeſſors of the military art. Let us now fix the attention of the reader on Martinico.

The French ſettle at Martinico, upon the ruins of the Caribs.

This iſland is ſixteen leagues in length, and forty-five in circumference, leaving out the capes, which ſometimes extend two or three leagues into the ſea. It is very uneven, and interſected in all parts by a number of hillocks, which are moſtly of

a conical form. Three mountains riſe above theſe ſmaller eminences. The higheſt bears the indelible marks of a volcano. The woods with which it is covered, continually attract the clouds, which occaſions noxious damps, and contributes to make it horrid and inacceſſible, while the two others are in moſt parts cultivated. From theſe mountains, but chiefly from the firſt, iſſue the many ſprings that water the iſland. Theſe waters, which flow in gentle ſtreams, are changed into torrents on the ſlighteſt ſtorm. Their quality partakes of the nature of the ſoil they paſs through; in ſome places they are excellent, in others ſo bad, that the inhabitants are obliged to drink the water they have collected in the rainy ſeaſon.

Desnambuc, who had ſent to reconnoitre Martinico, ſailed from St. Chriſtopher's in 1635, to ſettle his nation there; for he would not have it peopled from Europe. He foreſaw that men, tired with the fatigue of a long voyage, would moſtly periſh ſoon after their arrival, either from the climate, or from the hardſhips incident to moſt emigrations. The ſole founders of this new colony were a hundred men who had long lived in his government of St. Chriſtopher's. They were brave, active, inured to labour and fatigues; ſkillful in tilling the ground and erecting habitations; abundantly provided with potatoe plants, and all neceſſary ſeeds.

They completed their firſt ſettlement without any difficulty. The natives, intimidated by the fire-arms, or ſeduced by the promiſes that were made

made them, gave up to the French the weſtern and ſouthern parts of the iſland, and retired to the other. This tranquillity was of ſhort duration. The Caribs, when they ſaw theſe enterpriſing ſtrangers daily increaſing, were convinced that their ruin was inevitable, unleſs they could extirpate them; and they therefore called in the ſavages of the neighbouring iſlands to their aſſiſtance. They fell jointly upon a little fort that had been accidentally erected; but they met with ſuch a warm reception, that they thought proper to retreat, leaving ſeven or eight hundred of their beſt warriors dead upon the ſpot. After this check they diſappeared for a long while; and when they returned they brought with them preſents, and expreſſed their concern for what had happened. They were received in a friendly manner; and the reconciliation was ſealed with ſome pots of brandy that were given them to drink.

The labours had been carried on with difficulty till this period. The fear of a ſurpriſe obliged the coloniſts of three different habitations to meet every night in that which was in the center, and which was always kept in a ſtate of defence. There they ſlept ſecure, guarded by their dogs and a centinel. In the day time no one ventured out without his gun, and a brace of piſtols at his girdle. Theſe precautions were needleſs when the two nations came to be on friendly terms; but the one, whoſe friendſhip and favour had been courted, took ſuch undue advantages of her ſuperiority, to extend her uſurpations, that ſhe ſoon rekindled in the

the others a hatred that had never entirely ſubſided. The ſavages, whoſe manner of life requires a vaſt extent of land, finding themſelves daily more ſtraightened, had recourſe to ſtratagem to weaken an enemy whom they dared not attack by force. They ſeparated into ſmall bands, way-layed the French, who frequented the woods, waited till the ſportſman had fired his piece, and, before he had time to load it again, ruſhed upon him and deſtroyed him. Twenty men had been thus deſtroyed, before any one was able to account for their diſappearance. As ſoon as this particular was diſcovered, the aggreſſors were purſued and beaten, their carbets burnt, their wives and children maſſacred, and thoſe few, that eſcaped the carnage, fled from Martinico, and never appeared there again.

The French, by this retreat, now become ſole maſters of the iſland, lived quietly upon thoſe ſpots which beſt ſuited their plantations. They were then divided into two claſſes. The firſt conſiſted of ſuch as had paid their paſſage to America; and theſe were called inhabitants. The government diſtributed lands to them, which became their abſolute property upon paying a yearly tribute. They were obliged to keep watch by turns, and to contribute in proportion to their abilities towards the neceſſary expences for the public welfare and ſafety. Theſe had under their command a multitude of diſorderly people brought over from Europe at their expence, whom they called, *engagés*, or bondſmen. This engagement was a kind of

ſlavery

ſlavery for the term of three years. When that time was expired, the bondſmen, by recovering their liberty, became the equals of thoſe whom they had ſerved.

THEY all confined themſelves at firſt to the cultivation of tobacco and cotton; to which was ſoon added that of the arnotto and indigo. That of ſugar was not begun till about the year 1650. Benjamin Dacoſta, one of thoſe Jews who are beholden for their induſtry to that very oppreſſion which their nation is now fallen under, after having exerciſed it upon others, planted ſome cocoa trees ten years after. His example was not followed till 1684, when the chocolate grew more common in France. Cocoa then became the principal dependence of the coloniſts who had not a ſufficient fund to undertake ſugar plantations. One of thoſe calamities which ariſe from the ſeaſons, and which ſometimes affect men, and ſometimes vegetables, deſtroyed all the cocoa trees in 1718. This ſpread a general conſternation among the inhabitants of Martinico. The coffee-tree was then propoſed to them, as a plank is held out to mariners after a ſhipwreck.

THE French miniſtry had received, as a preſent from the Dutch, two of theſe trees, which were carefully preſerved in the King's botanical garden. Two ſhoots were taken from theſe. Mr. Deſclieux, who was intruſted to carry them over to Martinico, happened to be on board a ſhip which wanted water. He ſhared with his young trees the portion that was allotted him for his own drinking; and

and by this generous ſacrifice ſaved the valuable truſt that had been put into his hands. His magnanimity was rewarded. The culture of coffee was attended with the greateſt and moſt rapid ſucceſs; and this virtuous patriot ſtill enjoys, with a pleaſing ſatisfaction, the uncommon felicity of having as it were ſaved an important colony, and enriched it with a freſh branch of induſtry.

INDEPENDENT of this reſource, Martinico was poſſeſſed of thoſe natural advantages which ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy and great proſperity. Of all the French ſettlements, it is the moſt happily ſituated with regard to the winds that prevail in thoſe ſeas. Its harbours poſſeſs the ineſtimable advantage of affording a certain ſhelter from the hurricanes which annoy theſe latitudes. Its ſituation having made it the ſeat of government, it has obtained the greateſt marks of favour, and enjoyed the ableſt and moſt upright adminiſtration of them all. The enemy has conſtantly reſpected the valour of its inhabitants, and has ſeldom attacked it without having cauſe to repent. Its domeſtic peace has never been diſturbed, not even in 1717, when, urged by a general diſcontent, the inhabitants ventured, boldly indeed, but prudently, to ſend back to France a Governor and an Intendant, who oppreſſed the people under their deſpotiſm and rapaciouſneſs. The order, tranquillity, and harmony, which they found means to preſerve in thoſe times of anarchy, were a proof that they were influenced rather by their averſion from tyranny, than by their impatience

tience of authority; and ſerved in ſome meaſure to juſtify to the mother-country, a ſtep, which in itſelf might be conſidered as irregular, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles.

Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, Martinico, though in greater forwardneſs than the other French colonies, had made but little progreſs at the end of the laſt century. In 1700, it contained but 6597 white men in all. The ſavages, mulattoes, and free negroes, men, women and children, amounted to no more than 507. The number of ſlaves was but 14566. All theſe together made a population of 21,640 perſons. The whole of the cattle was 3,668 horſes or mules, and 9,217 head of horned cattle. They grew a great quantity of cocoa, tobacco and cotton, and had nine indigo houſes, and one hundred and eighty three ſmall ſugar plantations.

Proſperity of Martinico. Cauſes of it.

On the ceſſation of the long and obſtinate wars, which had ravaged all the continents, and been carried on upon all the ſeas of the world, and when France had relinquiſhed her projects of conqueſt, and thoſe principles of adminiſtration by which ſhe had been ſo long miſled; Martinico emerged from that feeble ſtate in which all theſe calamities had kept her, and ſoon roſe to a great degree of proſperity. She became the mart for all the windward national ſettlements. It was in her ports that the neighbouring iſlands ſold their produce, and bought the commodities of the mother-country. The French navigators loaded and unloaded their ſhips no where elſe. Martinico was

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famous all over Europe. She was the object of ſpeculation conſidered under the different views of a planter, an agent to the other colonies, and a trader with Spaniſh and North-America.

As a planter, ſhe poſſeſſed, in 1736, 447 ſugar-works; 11,953,232 coffee-trees; 193,870 of cocoa; 2068,480 of cotton; 39400 of tobacco; 6,750 of arnotto. Her ſupplies for proviſion conſiſted of 4,806,142 banana trees; 34,483,000 trenches of caſſava; and 247 plots of potatoes and yams. She had a population of 72,000 blacks, men, women and children. Their labour had improved her plantations as far as was conſiſtent with the conſumption then made in Europe of American productions; and ſhe exported annually to the amount of ſixteen millions of livres *.

The connections of Martinico with the other iſlands intitled her to the profits of commiſſion and the charges of tranſport, as ſhe alone was in poſſeſſion of carriages. This profit might be rated at the tenth of the produce; and the ſum total muſt amount to 17 or 18 millions of livres †. This ſtanding debt, ſeldom called in, was left them for the improvement of their plantations. It was increaſed by advances in money, ſlaves, and other neceſſary articles. Martinico thus becoming more and more a creditor to the other iſlands, kept them in conſtant dependence, but without injuring them. They all enriched themſelves by her aſſiſtance, and their profit was beneficial to her.

Her

* 700,000 l. † On an average about 765,600 l.

HER connections with Cape Breton, with Canada, and with Louiſiana, procured her a market for her ordinary ſugars, her inferior coffee, her molaſſes, and rum, which would not ſell in France. They gave her, in exchange, ſalt-fiſh, dried vegetables, deals, and ſome flour. In her clandeſtine trade on the coaſts of Spaniſh America; conſiſting wholly of goods manufactured by the nation, ſhe was well paid for the riſques which the French merchants did not chuſe to run. This traffic, leſs important than the former as to its object, was much more lucrative in its effects. It commonly brought in a profit of ninety *per cent.* upon the value of four millions of livres *, yearly ſent to the Caraccas, or the neighbouring colonies.

So many proſperous engagements had brought immenſe ſums into Martinico. Eighteen millions of livres * were conſtantly circulated there with amazing rapidity. This is, perhaps, the only country in the world where the ſpecie has been ſo conſiderable, as to make it a matter of indifference to them whether they dealt in gold, or ſilver, or in commodities.

HER extenſive trade annually brought into her ports two hundred ſhips from France, fourteen or fifteen fitted out by the mother-country for the coaſt of Guinea, ſixty from Canada, ten or twelve from the iſlands of Margaretta and Trinidad; beſides the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips that came to carry on a ſmuggling trade. The private navigation from the iſland to the northern colonies, to the Spaniſh

* 175,000 l. † 787,500 l.

Spaniſh continent, and to the windward iſlands, employed a hundred and thirty veſſels from twenty to ſeventy tons burthen, manned with ſix hundred European ſailors of all nations, and fifteen hundred ſlaves long-inured to the ſea-ſervice.

At firſt, the ſhips that frequented Martinico uſed to land in thoſe parts where the plantations lay. This practice, ſeemingly the moſt natural, was liable to great inconveniences. The north and north-eaſterly winds which blow upon part of the coaſts, keep the ſea in a conſtant and violent agitation. Though there are many good roads, they are either at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, or from moſt of the habitations. The ſloops deſtined to coaſt along this interval, were frequently forced by the weather to anchor, or to take in but half their lading. Theſe difficulties retarded the loading and unloading of the ſhip; and the conſequence of theſe delays was, a great loſs of men, and an increaſe of expence to the buyer and ſeller.

Commerce, which muſt always reckon among its greateſt advantages, that of procuring a quick return, could not but be impeded by another inconvenience, which was the neceſſity the trader lay under, even in the beſt latitudes, of diſpoſing of his cargo in ſmall parcels. If ſome induſtrious man undertook to ſave him that trouble, this enhanced the price of the goods to the coloniſts. The merchant's profit is to be rated in proportion to the quantity he ſells. The more he ſells, the more is he able to abate of the profit which another muſt make who ſells leſs.

A greater inconvenience than either of theſe was, that ſome places were overſtocked with ſome ſorts of European goods, while others were in want of them. The owners of the ſhips were equally at a loſs to take in a proper lading. Moſt places did not afford all ſorts of commodities, nor every ſpecies of the ſame commodity. This deficiency obliged them to touch at ſeveral places, or to carry away too great or too ſmall a quantity of what was fit for the port where they were to unload.

The ſhips themſelves were expoſed to ſeveral difficulties. Many of them wanted careening, and moſt required at leaſt ſome repair. The proper aſſiſtance on theſe occaſions was not to be found in the roads that were but little frequented, where workmen did not chuſe to ſettle, for fear of not getting ſufficient employment. They were therefore obliged to go and refit in ſome particular harbours, and then return to take in their lading at the place where they had made their ſale. Theſe different expeditions took up at leaſt three or four months.

These and many more inconveniences made it very deſireable to ſome of the inhabitants, and to all the navigators, to eſtabliſh a magazine, where the colonies and the mother-country might ſend their reſpective matters of exchange. Nature ſeemed to point out Fort Royal as a fit place for this purpoſe. Its harbour was one of the beſt in all the windward iſlands, and ſo celebrated for its ſafety, that, when it was open to the Dutch veſſels, they had orders from the republic to

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ſhelter there in June, July and Auguſt, from the hurricanes which are ſo frequent and ſo violent in thoſe latitudes. The lands of the Lamentin are diſtant but a league, and are the moſt fertile and richeſt of all the colony. The numerous rivers which water this fruitful country, convey loaded canoes to a certain diſtance from the place where they empty into the ſea. The protection of the fortifications ſecured the peaceable enjoyment of ſo many advantages; which, however, were balanced by a ſwampy and unwholeſome ſoil. This capital of Martinico was alſo the aſylum of the men of war; which branch of the navy has always oppreſſed the merchant-men. On this account, Fort Royal was an improper place to become the center of trade, which was therefore turned to St. Peter's.

THIS little town, which, notwithſtanding the fires that have reduced it four times to aſhes, ſtill contains 1748 houſes, is ſituated on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, in a bay or inlet which is almoſt circular. One part of it is built on the ſtrand along the ſea-ſide; which is called the anchorage; and is the place deſtined for the ſhips and warehouſes. The other part of the town ſtands upon a low hill: it is called the Fort, from a ſmall fortification that was built there in 1665, to check the ſeditions of the inhabitants againſt the tyranny of monopoly; but it now ſerves to protect the road from foreign enemies. Theſe two parts of the town are ſeparated by a rivulet or fordable river.

THE

THE anchorage is at the back of a pretty high and perpendicular hill. Shut up as it were by this hill, which intercepts the eaſterly winds, the moſt conſtant and moſt ſalubrious in theſe parts; expoſed without any refreſhing breezes to the ſcorching beams of the ſun, reflected from the hill, from the ſea, and the black ſand on the beach; this place is extremely hot, and always unwholeſome. Beſides, there is no harbour; and the ſhips, which cannot winter ſafely upon this coaſt, are obliged to take ſhelter at Fort Royal. But theſe diſadvantages are compenſated by the conveniency of the road of St. Peter's, for loading and unloading of goods; and by its ſituation, which is ſuch, that ſhips can freely go in and out at all times, and with all winds.

THIS village was the firſt that was built, peopled, and cultivated on the iſland. It is, however, not ſo much on account of its antiquity as of its convenience, that it is become the center of communication between the colony and the mother country. At firſt, St. Peter's was the ſtorehouſe for the commodities of ſome diſtricts, which lay along ſuch dreary and tempeſtuous coaſts, that no ſhip could ever get at them; ſo that the inhabitants could carry on no trade without removing elſewhere. The agents for theſe coloniſts in thoſe early times, were only the maſters of ſmall veſſels, who having made themſelves known by continually ſailing about the iſland, were enticed by the proſpect of gain, to fix upon a ſettled place for their reſidence. Honeſty was the only ſupport of this

intercourſe: moſt of theſe agents could not read. None of them kept any books or journals. They had a trunk, in which they kept a ſeparate bag for each perſon, whoſe buſineſs they tranſacted. Into this bag they put the produce of the ſales, and took out what money they wanted for the purchaſes. When the bag was empty, the commiſſion was at an end. This confidence, which muſt appear fabulous in our days of degeneracy and diſhoneſty, was yet common at the beginning of this century. There are ſome perſons ſtill living, who have carried on this trade, where the employer had no other ſecurity for the fidelity of his agent, but the benefit reſulting from it.

These plain men were ſucceſſively replaced by more enlightened perſons from Europe. Some had gone over to the colony, when it was taken out of the hands of the excluſive companies. Their number increaſed as the commodities multiplied; and they themſelves contributed greatly to the extending of the plantations by the loans they advanced to the planters; whoſe labours had, till then, gone on but ſlowly for want of ſuch help. This conduct made them the neceſſary agents for their debtors in the colony, as they were already for their employers at home. Even the coloniſt, who owed them nothing, was in ſome meaſure dependent on them, as he might poſſibly hereafter ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. If his crop ſhould fail, or be retarded, a plantation of ſugar-canes be ſet on fire, or a mill blown down: if his buildings ſhould fall, mortality carry off his cattle or his ſlaves;

ſlaves; or that every thing ſhould be deſtroyed by drought or heavy rains; where could he find the means of ſupporting himſelf during theſe calamities, or of repairing the loſs occaſioned by them? Theſe means are in twenty different hands. If only one refuſes his aſſiſtance, the diſtreſs muſt neceſſarily increaſe. Theſe conſiderations induced ſuch as had not yet borrowed money, to truſt the agents of St. Peter's with their concerns; in order to ſecure a reſource in times of diſtreſs.

The few rich inhabitants, whoſe fortunes ſeemed to place them above theſe wants, were in ſome degree compelled to apply to this factory. The trading captains, finding a port where they might with advantage complete their buſineſs, without ſtirring out of their warehouſes, or even of their ſhips, forſook Fort Royal, Trinity Fort, and all the other places where an arbitrary price was put upon the commodities, and where the payments were ſlow and uncertain. By this revolution, the coloniſts, being confined to their works, which require a conſtant and daily attendance, could no longer go out to diſpoſe of their produce. They were therefore obliged to intruſt it to able men, who, being ſettled at the only frequented ſea-port, were ready to ſeize the moſt favourable opportunities for buying and ſelling; an ineſtimable advantage this, in a country where trade is continually fluctuating. Guadalupe and Granada followed this example, induced by the ſame motives.

The war of 1744 put a ſtop to this proſperity; not that the fault was in Martinico itſelf. Its navy, conſtantly exerciſed, and accuſtomed to frequent engagements, which the carrying on of a contraband trade required, was prepared for action. In leſs than ſix months, forty privateers, fitted out at St. Peter's, ſpread themſelves about the latitudes of the Carribee iſlands. They ſignaliſed themſelves in a manner worthy of the ancient freebooters. They were conſtantly returning in triumph, and laden with an immenſe booty. Yet, in the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, an entire ſtop was put to the navigation of the colony, both to the Spaniſh coaſt and to Canada, and they were conſtantly diſturbed even on their own coaſts. The few ſhips that came from France, in order to compenſate the hazards they were expoſed to by the loſs of their commodities, ſold them at a very advanced price, and bought them at a very low one. By this means the produce decreaſed in value, the lands were but ill cultivated, the works neglected, and the ſlaves periſhing for want. Every thing was in a declining ſtate, and tending to decay. The peace at laſt reſtored the freedom of trade, and with it the hopes of recovering the ancient proſperity of the iſland. The event did not anſwer the pains that were taken to attain it.

Decay of Martinico, and the cauſe of it.

Two years had not yet elapſed ſince the ceſſation of hoſtilities, when the colony loſt the contraband trade ſhe carried on with the American Spaniards. This revolution was not owing to the vigilance of the

the guarda-coſtas. As it is more the intereſt of the traders to ſet them at defiance, than theirs to defend themſelves; the former are apt to deſpiſe men who are ill paid to protect ſuch rights, or enforce ſuch prohibitions as are oftentimes unjuſt. The ſubſtitution of regiſter ſhips to the fleets was the cauſe that confined the attempts of the ſmugglers within very narrow limits. In the new ſyſtem, the number of ſhips was undetermined, and the time of their arrival uncertain, which occaſioned a variation in the price of commodities unknown before. From that time the ſmuggler, who only engaged in this trade from the certainty of a fixed and conſtant profit, would no longer purſue it, when it did not ſecure him an equivalent to the riſques he ran.

But this loſs was not ſo ſenſibly felt by the colony, as the hardſhips brought upon them by the mother country. An unſkilful adminiſtration clogged the reciprocal and neceſſary connection between the iſlands and North America with ſo many formalities, that in 1755 Martinico ſent but four veſſels to Canada. The direction of the colonies, now committed to the care of avaricious and ignorant clerks, ſoon loſt its importance, ſank into contempt, and and was proſtituted to venality.

But the trade of France was not yet affected by the decay of Martinico. The French found traders in the road of St. Peter's, who purchaſed their cargoes at a good price, and ſent their ſhips home with expedition and richly laden; and they never inquired from what particular colony the conſumptions and produce aroſe. Even the negroes who were

were carried there we ſold at a high price; but few remained there. The greateſt part were ſent to the Granades, to Guadalupe, and even to the Neutral iſlands, which, notwithſtanding the unlimited freedom they enjoyed, preferred the ſlaves brought by the French, to thoſe the Engliſh offered, though apparently on better terms. They were convinced, from long experience, that the choſen negroes, who coſt the moſt, enriched their lands, while the plantations did not flouriſh in the hands of the negroes bought at a lower price. But theſe profits of the mother country were foreign and rather hurtful to Martinico.

She had not yet repaired her loſſes during the peace, nor paid off the debts which a ſeries of calamities had obliged her to contract; when war, the greateſt of all evils, broke out afreſh. A ſeries of misfortunes for France, after repeated defeats and loſſes, made Martinico fall into the hands of the Engliſh. It was reſtored in July 1763, ſixteen months after it had been conquered; but deprived of all the neceſſary means of proſperity, that had made it of ſo much importance. For ſome years paſt, the contraband trade carried on to the Spaniſh coaſts was almoſt entirely loſt. The ceſſion of Canada had precluded all hopes of opening again a communication, which had only been interrupted by temporary miſtakes. The productions of the Granades, St. Vincent, and Dominica, which were now become Britiſh dominions, could no longer be brought into their harbours; and a new regulation of the mother country, which forbad her having

having any intercourſe with Guadalupe, left her no hopes from that quarter.

Preſent ſtate of Martinico.

THE colony thus deprived of every thing, as it were, and deſtitute, nevertheleſs contained, at the laſt ſurvey, which was taken on the firſt of January, 1770, in the compaſs of twenty-eight pariſhes, 12,450 white people of all ages and of both ſexes; 1814 free blacks or mulattos; 70,553 ſlaves; and 443 fugitive negroes. The number of births in 1776, was in the proportion of one in thirty among the white people, and of one in twenty-five among the blacks. From this obſervation, if it were conſtant, it ſhould ſeem that the climate of America is much more favourable to the propagation of the Africans than of the Europeans; ſince the former multiply ſtill more in the labours and hardſhips of ſlavery, than the latter in the midſt of plenty and freedom. The conſequence muſt be, that in proceſs of time the increaſe of blacks in America will ſurpaſs that of the white men; and, perhaps, at laſt avenge this race of victims on the deſcendents of the oppreſſors.

THE cattle of the colony conſiſts of 8283 horſes or mules; 12,376 head of horned cattle; 975 hogs; and 13,544 ſheep or goats.

THEIR proviſions are, 17,930,596 trenches of caſſava; 3,509,048 banana trees; and 406 ſquares and a half of yams and potatoes.

THEIR plantations contain 11,444 ſquares of land, planted with ſugar; 6,638,757 coffee-trees; 871,043 cocoa-trees; 1,764,807 cotton plants; 59,966 trees of caſſia, and ſixty-one of arnotto.

HER

HER meadows or ſavannahs take up 10,072 ſquares of land; there are 11,966 in wood; and 8448 uncultivated or forſaken.

THE plantations which produce coffee, cotton, cocoa, and other things of leſs importance, are 1515 in number. There are but 286 for ſugar. They employ 116 water-mills, twelve wind-mills, and 184 turned by oxen. Before the hurricane of the 13th of Auguſt, 1766, there were 302 ſmall habitations, and fifteen ſugar-works more.

IN 1769 France imported from Martinico, upon two hundred and two trading veſſels, 177,116 quintals of fine ſugar, and 12,579 quintals of raw ſugar; 68,518 quintals of coffee; 11,731 quintals of cocoa; 6,048 quintals of cotton; 2,518 quintals of caſſia; 783 caſks of rum; 307 hogſheads of molaſſes; 150 pounds of indigo; 2147 pounds of preſerved fruits; forty-ſeven pounds of chocolate; 282 pounds of raſped tobacco; 494 pounds of rope-yarn; 234 cheſts of liqueurs; 234 hogſheads of molaſſes; &c. 451 quintals of wood for dying; and 12,108 hides in the hair. All theſe productions together have been bought in the colony itſelf, for 12,265,862 livres fourteen ſols *. It is true, that the colony has received from the mother country to the amount of 13,449,436 livres † of merchandiſe; but part of this has been ſent away to the Spaniſh coaſts, and another part has been conveyed to the Engliſh ſettlements.

ALL thoſe who from inſtinct or duty are concerned for the intereſt of their country, cannot ſee, without regret, that ſo excellent a colony as Martinico

* 536,631l. 9s. 1cd. † 588,412l. 16s. 6d.

Martinico ſhould furniſh ſo ſmall a quantity of commodities, part of which even is brought from other places. It is well known, indeed, that the center of the iſland, full of horrid rocks, is unfit for the culture of ſugar, coffee, or cotton; that too much moiſture would be hurtful to theſe productions; and that, ſhould they ſucceed, the charges of carriage acroſs mountains and precipices would abſorb the profits of the crops. But in this large ſpace meadows would turn to very good account. The ſoil is excellent for paſture, and only wants the attention of government to furniſh the inhabitants with the neceſſary increaſe of cattle both for labour and food. There are other ſpots on the iſland where the ſoil is ungrateful. Some are alternately ſpoilt by drought and rain, ſome are marſhy, and almoſt always overflowed by the ſea. There are others where nothing will grow, except thoſe aquatic plants known by the general name of mangroves, but of various ſpecies, and very unlike each other. In other parts, the ground is ſo ſtony, that it cannot be improved by labour, or ſo much exhauſted, that it is not worth manuring.

To theſe inconveniences, which ariſe from the nature of things, muſt be added a terrible plague it has experienced from the ants; a ſpecies of inſects formerly unknown in America. Some time ago they ravaged Barbadoes in ſo terrible a manner, that it was a matter of deliberation, whether that iſland, formerly ſo flouriſhing, ſhould not be evacuated. This calamity had greatly diminiſhed there, when in 1763 it began to be felt at Martinico. The miſchief theſe inſects have done to ſeveral

parts

parts of the colony cannot be deſcribed. All the uſeful vegetables have been deſtroyed; the quadrupeds have been unable to ſubſiſt there; the largeſt trees have been infeſted in ſuch a manner, that even the leaſt delicate birds would not fix upon them. It was not without the greateſt precautions that the children were preſerved from being devoured, that the women could be ſupported till they lay in, or that the men could ſubſiſt. It was apprehended that this numberleſs and devouring race would ſpread all over Martinico. Happily this formidable ravage has been ſtopped in its beginning, and ſeems very ſenſibly to be totally going off; but the lands infected with this poiſon, yield only to the cultivation of coffee, and will not produce ſugar.

PREVIOUS to this evil, thoſe obſervers who were beſt acquainted with the colony, were generally of opinion, that its plantations were ſuſceptible of improvement, and might be increaſed about one fourth part. Its preſent ſituation is far from encouraging ſuch flattering hopes.

Whether the ſtate of Martinico can be improved?

THE proprietors of the lands on the iſland may be divided into four claſſes. The firſt are poſſeſſed of a hundred large ſugar plantations, in which twelve thouſand negroes are employed. The ſecond have one hundred and fifty, worked by nine thouſand blacks. The third claſs poſſeſs thirty, with two thouſand blacks. The fourth, devoted to the culture of coffee, cotton, cocoa, and caſſava, may employ twelve thouſand negroes. The remaining ſlaves of both ſexes are engaged in domeſtic ſervices, in fiſhing, or in navigation.

THE

The firſt claſs conſiſts entirely of rich people. Their culture is carried to the higheſt degree of perfection, and they are able to preſerve it in the flouriſhing ſtate to which they have brought it. Even the expences they muſt be at for replacing deficiencies, are not ſo great as thoſe of the leſs wealthy planter, as the ſlaves born upon theſe plantations ſupply the place of thoſe deſtroyed by time and labour.

The ſecond claſs, which is that of planters in eaſy circumſtances, have but half the hands that would be neceſſary to acquire a fortune equal to that of the opulent proprietors. If they were even able to buy the number of ſlaves they want, they would be deterred from it by fatal experience. Nothing can be more imprudent than the cuſtom of putting a great number of freſh negroes upon a plantation. The ſickneſs thoſe miſerable wretches are liable to, from a change of climate and diet; the trouble of inuring them to a kind of labour to which they are not accuſtomed, and which they diſlike, cannot but diſguſt a planter, from the conſtant and laborious attention he muſt pay to this training up of men for the cultivation of land. The moſt active proprietor is he who is able to increaſe his works by one ſixth of the number of ſlaves every year. Thus the ſecond claſs might acquire fifteen hundred ſlaves yearly, if the net produce of their lands would admit of it. But they muſt not expect to meet with credit. The merchants in France do not ſeem diſpoſed to truſt them;

them; and thoſe who circulated their ſtock in the colony, no ſooner found that they could not make uſe of it without running conſiderable riſques, but they removed it to Europe, or to St. Domingo.

The third claſs, which are but little removed from indigence, cannot change their ſituation by any means which the natural courſe of trade can ſupply. It is a matter of difficulty for them to be able to ſubſiſt. The indulgence of government can alone put them into ſuch a flouriſhing condition as to render them uſeful to the ſtate, by lending them, without intereſt, the ſums they may want, to raiſe their plantations. This claſs might employ a greater number of freſh negroes than we have allotted to the ſecond without the ſame inconveniences; becauſe each planter having fewer ſlaves to look after, will be able to pay a greater attention to thoſe he may purchaſe.

The fourth claſs, who are employed in cultivations of leſs importance than that of ſugar, do not ſtand in need of ſuch powerful helps, to recover that eaſe and plenty from which they are fallen, by war, hurricanes, and other misfortunes. Could theſe two laſt claſſes but make an acquiſition of fifteen hundred ſlaves every year, it would be ſufficient to raiſe them to that degree of proſperity to which their induſtry naturally intitles them.

Thus Martinico might hope to revive her declining plantations, and to recover the firſt ſplendour to which her diligence had raiſed her, if ſhe could get a yearly acceſſion of three thouſand negroes. But it is well known that ſhe is not in a condition to pay for theſe recruits. She owes the

mother

mother country, for balance of trade, about a million *. A ſeries of misfortunes has obliged her to borrow four millions † of the merchants ſettled in the town of St. Peter. The engagements ſhe has entered into on account of divided inheritances, and thoſe ſhe has contracted for the purchaſe of a number of plantations, have made her inſolvent. This deſperate ſtate will neither allow her the means of ſoon recovering her former ſituation, nor the ambition of purſuing that road to fortune which once lay open to her.

Whether Martinico can be conquered.

ADD to this, that ſhe ſtands expoſed to invaſion. But though there are a number of places where the enemy may land, yet they will never make the attempt. It would indeed be fruitleſs, becauſe of the impoſſibility of bringing up the artillery and ammunition, acroſs ſuch a rugged country to Fort Royal, which defends the whole colony. It is in this latitude only that the enemy would ſail in order to make ſuch an attempt.

IN the front of this ſtrong and principal place of defence is a famous harbour, ſituated on the ſide of a broad bay, that cannot be entered without many tackings, which muſt decide the fate of any ſhip that is forced to avoid an engagement. If ſhe happens to be unrigged, or is a bad ſailor, or meets with ſome accident from the variations of the ſqualls of wind, the currents, or whirlpools, ſhe will fall into the hands of an aſſailant that is a better ſailor. The garriſon of the fortreſs itſelf may become a uſeleſs and

* 43,750l. † 175,000l.

and inglorious ſpectator of the defeat of a whole ſquadron, as it has been often of the taking of merchant ſhips.

The inſide of the harbour is much injured on account of the hulks of ſeveral ſhips that have been ſunk there, to keep out the Engliſh in the laſt war. Theſe veſſels have been taken up again; but it will ſtill require a conſiderable expence to remove the heaps of ſand which had gathered about them, and to put the harbour in the ſame ſtate it was before. This work will not admit of any delay; for the port, though not very ſpacious, is the only one where ſhips of all rates can winter; the only one where they can be ſupplied with maſts, ſails, cables, and excellent water, which is brought there from the diſtance of a league by a very well-contrived canal, and which may be eaſily procured.

An enemy will always land near to this harbour, and there is no poſſibility of preventing them, whatever precautions are taken. The war could only be carried on againſt them in the field; it could not be continued for any time, and the people would ſoon be reduced to ſhut themſelves up in their fortifications.

They formerly had no other fortification than Fort Royal, where immenſe ſums had been buried through want of ſkill under a ridge of mountains. All the knowledge of the ableſt engineers has never been ſufficient to give any degree of ſtrength or ſolidity to works erected by chance, by the moſt unſkillful hands, and without any ſort of plan.

They

They have been obliged to content themſelves with adding a covered way, a rampart and flanks, to ſuch parts of the place as would admit of them. But the work of the moſt conſequence has been to cut into the rock, which eaſily gives way; and to dig ſubterraneous rooms, which are airy, wholeſome, and fit to ſecure warlike ſtores and proviſions; as alſo to ſhelter the ſick, and to defend the ſoldiers, and ſuch of the inhabitants whoſe attachment to their country would inſpire them with courage to defend the colony. It has been thought, that men who were ſure of finding a ſafe retreat in theſe caverns, after having expoſed their lives on the ramparts, would ſoon forget their fatigues, and face the enemy with freſh vigour. This idea was fortunate and ſenſible, and muſt have been ſuggeſted, if not by a patriotic goverment, at leaſt by ſome ſenſible and humane miniſter.

But the bravery this muſt inſpire could not be ſufficient to preſerve a place which is commanded on all ſides. It was therefore thought adviſeable to fix upon ſome more advantageous ſituation; and the point called *Morne Garnier* was choſen for this purpoſe, which is higher by thirty-five or forty feet than the higheſt tops of Patate, Tortenſon, and Cartouche, all which overlook Fort Royal.

Upon this eminence a citadel has been raiſed, conſiſting of four baſtions. The baſtions in front, the covered way, the reſervoirs for water, the powder magazines; all theſe means of defence are

ready, and the reſt will ſoon be finiſhed. The cazernes, and other neceſſary buildings, will ſoon complete the work. If even the redoubts and the batteries, intended to force the enemy to make their deſcent at a greater diſtance than Caſco bay, where they landed at the laſt invaſion, ſhould not be attended with the effect that is expected from them; yet ſtill the colony would be able to reſiſt about three months. Fifteen hundred men will defend the Morne *Garnier* for thirty or ſix and thirty days againſt an army of fifteen thouſand; and twelve hundred men will ſuſtain themſelves for twenty or five and twenty days in Fort Royal, which cannot be attacked till *Garnier* has been taken. This is all that can be expected from an expence of ſeven or eight millions of livres *.

Those, who are of opinion that the navy alone ought to protect the colonies, think that ſo conſiderable an expence has been miſapplied. As it was not poſſible, in their opinion, to erect fortifications and to build ſhips at the ſame time; the preference ought to have been given to the latter, as being indiſpenſably neceſſary. Eſpecially if the impetuoſity in the character of the French diſpoſes them to attack rather than to defend, they ought ſooner to deſtroy than erect fortreſſes; or none but ſhips ſhould be built, thoſe moveable ramparts which carry war with them, inſtead of waiting for it. Any power that aims at trade, and the eſtabliſhment of colonies, muſt have ſhips, which bring in

* About 328,000l. on an average.

ſn men and wealth, and increaſe population and circulation; whereas baſtions and ſoldiers are only fit to conſume men and proviſions. All that the court of Verſailles can expect from the expence ſhe has incurred at Martinico, is, that if the iſland ſhould be attacked by the only enemy ſhe has to fear, there will be time enough to relieve her. The Engliſh proceed ſlowly in a ſiege; they always go on by rule, and nothing diverts them from completing any works that concern the ſafety of the aſſailants; for they eſteem the life of a ſoldier of more conſequence than the loſs of time. This maxim, ſo ſenſible in itſelf, is, perhaps, miſapplied in the deſtructive climate of America; but it is the maxim of a people, whoſe ſoldiers are engaged in the ſervice of the ſtate, not mercenaries paid by the prince. But whatever be the future fate of Martinico, it is now time to inquire into the preſent ſtate of Guadalupe.

Calamities experienced by the French who firſt ſettled at Guadalupe.

THIS iſland, which is of an irregular form, may be about eighty leagues in circumference. It is divided in two parts by a ſmall arm of the ſea, which is not above two leagues long, and from fifteen to forty fathom broad. This canal, known by the name of the ſalt river, is navigable, but will only carry veſſels of fifty tons burthen.

THAT part of the iſland which gives its name to the whole colony, is, towards the center, full of craggy rocks, and ſo cold that nothing will grow there but fern, and ſome uſeleſs ſhrubs covered with moſs. On the top of theſe rocks, a mountain called *la Souphriere*, or the Brimſtone moun-

BOOK XIII.

tain, riſes to an immenſe height into the middle region of the air. It exhales through various openings, a thick black ſmoke, intermixed with ſparks that are viſible by night. From all theſe hills flow numberleſs ſprings, which fertilize the plains below, and moderate the burning heat of the climate by a refreſhing ſtream, ſo celebrated, that the galleons which formerly uſed to touch at the windward iſlands, had orders to renew their proviſion with this pure and ſalubrious water. Such is that part of the iſland properly called Guadalupe. That which is commonly called Grande Terre, has not been ſo much favoured by nature. It is, indeed, leſs rugged; but it wants ſprings and rivers. The ſoil is not ſo fertile, or the climate ſo wholeſome or ſo pleaſant.

No European nation had yet taken poſſeſſion of this iſland, when five hundred and fifty Frenchmen, led on by two gentlemen named Loline and Dupleſſis, arrived there from Dieppe on the 28th of June, 1635. They had been very imprudent in their preparations. Their proviſions were ſo ill choſen, that they were ſpoilt in the paſſage; and they had ſhipped ſo few, that they were exhauſted in two months. They were ſupplied with none from the mother-country. St. Chriſtopher's, whether from ſcarcity or deſign, refuſed to ſpare them any; and the firſt attempts in huſbandry they made in the country, could not as yet afford any thing. No reſource was left for the colony but from the ſavages; but the ſuperfluities of a people, who cultivate but little, and therefore had never

laid up any ſtores, could not be very conſiderable. The new comers, not content with what the ſavages might freely and voluntarily bring, came to a reſolution to plunder them; and hoſtilities commenced on the 16th of January, 1636.

The Caribs, not thinking themſelves in a condition openly to reſiſt an enemy who had ſo much the advantage from the ſuperiority of their arms, deſtroyed their own proviſions and plantations, and retired to Grande Terre, or to the neighbouring iſlands. From thence the moſt deſperate came over to the iſland from which they had been driven, and concealed themſelves in the thickeſt parts of the foreſts. In the day-time they ſhot with their poiſoned arrows, or knocked down with their clubs, all the French who were ſcattered about for hunting or fiſhing. In the night, they burned the houſes and deſtroyed the plantations of their unjuſt ſpoilers.

A dreadful famine was the conſequence of this kind of war. The coloniſts were reduced to graze in the fields, to eat their own excrements, and to dig up dead bodies for their ſubſiſtence. Many who had been ſlaves at Algiers, held in abhorrence the hands that had broken their fetters; and all of them curſed their exiſtence. It was in this manner that they atoned for the crime of their invaſion, till the government of Aubert brought about a peace with the ſavages at the end of the year 1640. When we conſider the injuſtice of the hoſtilities which the Europeans have committed all over America, we are almoſt tempted

to rejoice at their misfortunes, and at all the judgments that purſue thoſe inhuman oppreſſors. We are ready, from motives of humanity, to renounce the ties that bind us to the inhabitants of our own own hemiſphere, change our connections, and contract beyond the ſeas with the ſavage Indians an alliance which unites all mankind, that of misfortune and compaſſion.

THE remembrance, however, of hardſhips endured in an invaded iſland, proved a powerful incitement to the cultivation of all articles of immediate neceſſity; which afterwards induced an attention to thoſe of luxury conſumed in the mother-country. The few inhabitants who had eſcaped the calamities they had drawn upon themſelves, were ſoon joined by ſome diſcontented coloniſts from St. Chriſtopher's, by Europeans fond of novelty, by ſailors tired of navigation, and by ſome ſea-captains, who prudently choſe to commit to the care of a grateful ſoil the treaſures they had ſaved from the dangers of the ſea. But ſtill the proſperity of Guadalupe was ſtopped, or impeded by obſtacles ariſing from its ſituation.

The colony of Guadalupe makes no great progreſs.

THE facility with which the pirates from the neighbouring iſlands could carry off their cattle, their ſlaves, their very crops, frequently brought them into a very deſperate ſituation. Inteſtine broils, ariſing from jealouſies of authority, often diſturbed the quiet of the planters. The adventurers who went over to the windward iſlands, diſdaining a land that was fitter for agriculture than for naval expeditions, were eaſily drawn to Martinico,

tinico, by the convenient roads it abounds with. The protection of thoſe intrepid pirates, brought to that iſland all the traders who flattered themſelves that they might buy up the ſpoils of the enemy at a low price, and all the planters who thought they might ſafely give themſelves up to peaceful labours. This quick population could not fail of introducing the civil and military government of the Caribbee iſlands into Martinico. From that time, the French miniſtry attended more ſeriouſly to this than to the other colonies, which were not ſo immediately under their direction; and, hearing chiefly of this iſland, they turned all their encouragements that way.

It was in conſequence of this preference, that in 1700 the number of inhabitants in Guadalupe amounted only to 3,825 white people; 325 ſavages, free negroes, mulattoes; and 6,725 ſlaves, many of whom were Caribs. Her cultures were reduced to 60 ſmall plantations of ſugar, 66 of indigo, a little cocoa, and a conſiderable quantity of cotton. The cattle amounted to 1,620 horſes and mules, and 3,699 head of horned cattle. This was the fruit of ſixty years labour. But her future progreſs was as rapid as her firſt attempts had been ſlow.

At the end of the year 1755, the colony was peopled with 9,643 whites, 41,140 ſlaves of all ages and of both ſexes. Her ſaleable commodities were the produce of 334 ſugar plantations; 15 plots of indigo; 46,840 ſtems of cocoa; 11,700

of

of tobacco; 2,257,725 of coffee; 12,748,447 of cotton. For her proviſion ſhe had 29 ſquares of rice or maize, and 1,219 of potatoes or yams; 2,028,520 banana trees; and 32,577,950 trenches of caſſava. Theſe details are the moſt eſſential parts of the hiſtory of America, ſo far as it concerns Europe. Cato the Cenſor would have recorded them; and Charlemagne would have read them. Who then can be aſhamed to attend to them? Let us therefore purſue theſe uſeful diſquiſitions. The cattle of Guadalupe conſiſted of 4,946 horſes; 2,924 mules; 125 aſſes; 13,716 head of horned cattle; 11,162 ſheep or goats; and 2,444 hogs. Such was the ſtate of Guadalupe when it was conquered by the Engliſh in the month of April 1759.

FRANCE lamented this loſs; but the colony had reaſon to comfort themſelves for this diſgrace. During a ſiege of three months, they had ſeen their plantations deſtroyed, the buildings that ſerved to carry on their works burnt down, and ſome of their ſlaves carried off. Had the enemy been forced to retreat after all theſe devaſtations, the iſland was ruined. Deprived of all aſſiſtance from the mother-country, which was not able to ſend her any ſuccours, and expecting nothing from the Dutch, who on account of their neutrality came into her roads, becauſe ſhe had nothing to offer them in exchange, ſhe could never have ſubſiſted till the enſuing harveſt.

THE

The Engliſh conquer Guadalupe, and raiſe the iſland to the greateſt degree of proſperity.

THE conquerors delivered them from theſe apprehenſions. The Engliſh, indeed, are no merchants in their colonies. The proprietors of lands, who moſtly reſide in Europe, ſend their repreſentatives whatever they want, and draw the whole produce of the eſtate by the return of their ſhip. An agent, ſettled in ſome ſea-port of Great-Britain, is intruſted with the furniſhing the plantation, and receiving the produce. This was impracticable at Guadalupe; and the conquerors in this reſpect were obliged to adopt the cuſtom of the conquered. The Engliſh, informed of the advantage the French made of their trade with the colonies, haſtened, in imitation of them, to ſend their ſhips to the conquered iſland; and ſo multiplied their expeditions, that they overſtocked the market, and ſank the price of all European commodities. The coloniſt bought them at a very low price, and, in conſequence of this plenty, obtained long delays for the payment.

To this credit, which was neceſſary, was ſoon added another ariſing from ſpeculation, which enabled the colony to fulfil its engagements. A great number of negroes were carried thither, to haſten the growth and enhance the value of the plantations. It has been ſaid in various memorials, all copied from each other, that the Engliſh had ſtocked Guadalupe with 30,000, during the four years and three months that they remained maſters of the iſland. The regiſters of the cuſtom houſes, which may be depended on, as there could be no induce-

inducement for an impoſition, atteſt that the number was no more than 18,721. This was ſufficient to give the nation well-grounded hopes of reaping great advantages from their new conqueſt. But their ambition was fruſtrated, and the colony, with its dependencies, was reſtored to its former poſſeſſors in July 1763.

By the dependencies of Guadalupe, muſt be underſtood ſeveral ſmall iſlands; which, being included in the diſtrict of her juriſdiction, fell with her into the hands of the Engliſh. Such is the Deſeada, which ſeems to have been detached from Guadalupe by the ſea, and is only ſeparated by a ſmall channel. It is a kind of rock, where nothing will grow but cotton. It is uncertain at what time it was firſt inhabited, but this little ſettlement is certainly not of long ſtanding.

The Saints, three leagues diſtant from Guadalupe, are two very ſmall iſlands, which, with another yet ſmaller, make a triangle, and have a tolerable harbour. Thirty Frenchmen were ſent thither in 1648, but were ſoon driven away by an exceſſive drought, which dried up their only ſpring, before they had time to make any reſervoirs. A ſecond attempt was made in 1652, and laſting plantations were made, which now yield fifty thouſand weight of coffee and ninety thouſand of cotton.

This is inconſiderable, but it is more than the produce of St. Bartholomew, which was peopled with fifty Frenchmen in 1648. They were all maſſacred in 1656 by a troop of Caribs from St. Vincent and Dominica, and not replaced till a conſiderable

ſiderable time after. In 1753 the coloniſts were no more than 170 in number, and their whole fortune conſiſted in 54 ſlaves, and 64,000 cocoa trees. Since the laſt peace, the population of the white people has amounted to 400, and that of the blacks to 500. The plantations have increaſed in the ſame proportions. The ſoil of this ſmall iſland is very hilly, and extremely barren; but it has the convenience of a good harbour. The wretchedneſs of the inhabitants is ſo well known, that the Engliſh privateers, which frequently put in there during the late wars, have always paid punctually for what few refreſhments they could ſpare them, though the miſerable inhabitants were too weak to compel them. There is then ſome humanity left even in the breaſt of enemies and pirates; man is not naturally cruel; and only becomes ſo from fear or intereſt. The armed pirate, who plunders a veſſel richly laden, is not deſtitute of equity, nor even of compaſſion for a ſet of poor defenceleſs iſlanders.

MARIGALANTE was wreſted from her natural inhabitants, in 1648. The French, who had forcibly taken poſſeſſion of it, were long annoyed bythe ſavages of the neighbouring iſlands, but at laſt are left peaceable poſſeſſors of a land they have cultivated, after they had depopulated it. This iſland is not large, but fruitful; it cultivates twenty-one ſugar plantations, 7,000 cocoa trees, 562,700 ſtems of coffee, and 4,621,700 of cotton. If theſe frequent computations are tireſome to an indolent reader, who is not fond of taking account of his income, leſt he ſhould find he muſt ſet bounds to his expences,

it

it is to be hoped they will be leſs ſo to political calculators, who find the exact meaſure of the ſtrength of a ſtate in the population and produce of lands, and are by theſe means the better enabled to compare the natural reſources of the ſeveral nations. It is only by an exact regiſter of this kind that we can judge of the preſent ſtate of the maritime and trading powers that have ſettlements in America. In this caſe, accuracy conſtitutes the whole merit of the work; and the reader muſt excuſe inelegance in favour of real utility. The public is already ſufficiently amuſed and impoſed upon by eloquent and ingenious diſcriptions of diſtant countries; it is now time to inveſtigate truth, to compare the ſeveral hiſtories of theſe countries, and to find out what they now are, rather than what they were formerly. For the hiſtory of what is paſt is of little more conſequence to the preſent age, than the hiſtory of what is to come. Let us then again be permitted to obſerve, that no one ſhould think it ſtrange, that we ſo often repeat the numeration of negroes and cattle, of lands and their produce; in a word, that we ſhould ſo frequently enter into diſquiſitions which may appear dry, but are in fact the natural foundations of ſociety. Why then ſhould we be diſguſted at ſeeing theſe things in a work which ſhews us our riches? Let us, therefore, reſume the ſubject, and compute the wealth of Guadalupe.

By the ſurvey taken in 1767, this iſland, including the ſmaller ſettlements above-mentioned, contains 11,863 white people of all ages, and of both ſexes;

ſexes; 752 free blacks and mulattos; 72,761 ſlaves; which makes in all a population of 85,376 ſouls.

THE cattle conſiſts of 5,060 horſes; 4,854 mules; 111 aſſes; 17378 head of horned cattle; 14,895 ſheep or goats; and 2,669 hogs. The proviſion is 30,476,218 trenches of caſſava; 2,819,262 banana trees; 2,118 ſquares of land planted with yams and potatoes.

THE plantations contain 72 arnotto trees; 327 of caſſia; 13,292 of cocoa; 5,881,176 of coffee; 12,156,769 of cotton; 21,474 ſquares of land planted with ſugar-canes. The woods occupy 22,097 ſquares of land. There are 20,247 in meadows; and 6,405 are uncultivated or forſaken. Only 1582 plantations grow cotton, coffee, and proviſions. Sugar is made but in 401. Theſe ſugar-works employ 140 water-mills, 263 turned by oxen, and 11 windmills.

THE produce of Guadalupe, including what is poured in from the ſmall iſlands under her dominion, ought to be very conſiderable. But in 1768, it yielded to the mother-country no more than 140,418 quintals of fine ſugar; 23,603 quintals of raw ſugar; 34,205 quintals of coffee; 11,955 quintals of cotton; 456 quintals of cocoa; 1,884 quintal of ginger; 2,529 quintals of logwood; 24 cheſts of ſweatmeats; 165 cheſts of liqueurs; 34 caſks of rum; and 1,202 undreſſed ſkins. All theſe commodities were ſold in the colony only for 7,103,838 livres *, and the merchandiſe it has received from France has coſt but 4,523,884 livres †.

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* 310,792l. 18s. 3d. † 197,919l. 18s. 6d.

BOOK XIII.

It is eaſy to judge from hence how great a part of the produce has been fraudulently exported, ſince it is known that the crops of Guadalupe are more plentiful than thoſe of Martinico.

THE reaſons for this ſuperiority are obvious. Guadalupe employs a greater number of ſlaves upon the plantations than Martinico, which being at the ſame time an iſland that trades, and is concerned in plantations, conſequently employs many of her negroes in the towns and in the navigation. There are fewer children in Guadalupe, becauſe the freſh negroes brought to the new-erected works, are all adults, or at leaſt able to work, and the black women ſeldom breed till the ſecond year after their arrival in America. This may be owing to the change of climate and food affecting their conſtitutions, or, poſſibly, to a kind of reſerve which they are more ſuſceptible of than they are generally thought to be. Laſtly, a great many of thoſe blacks have been placed upon freſh lands; and ground newly cleared always yields more than that which is exhauſted by long tillage.

BUT, if we may truſt to ſome obſervers, the colony muſt expect that her plantations will decreaſe. They maintain that part of the iſland properly called Guadalupe had long ſince attained to the utmoſt degree of increaſe; and the Grande Terre, almoſt all of which is newly cleared, affords three fifths of the produce of the whole ſettlement. But it is impoſſible that this part of the iſland can preſerve that flouriſhing ſtate, to which it has caſually arrived. The land is naturally barren, already ex-

exhauſted by forced culture, and the more expoſed to the droughts ſo common in this climate, as there is hardly a tree left. Beſides, the cultivation of it is attended with difficulty and expence, and the crops can only be kept up by a daily increaſe of labour and expence, and by conſtantly returning into the ground the net produce of each harveſt.

YET many are of opinion that Guadalupe may augment her income by one ſixth, and that the time of this increaſe is near at hand. The colony has no conſiderable debts. Having fewer wants than the richer iſlands, where affluence has long ſince increaſed the deſires and taſte of enjoyment, the inhabitants can ſpare the more for the improvement of their lands. Their ſituation, in the midſt of the Engliſh and Dutch ſettlements, gives them an opportunity of running a fourth part of their ſugars and cottons, at a higher price than they would ſell for to the French captains, to purchaſe ſlaves and other articles in exchange at a cheaper rate. From theſe concurring circumſtances, it is not unlikely that Guadalupe will ſoon riſe of herſelf to the greateſt proſperity, without aſſiſtance, and notwithſtanding the reſtraints government has impoſed upon it.

Changes made in the adminiſtration of Guadalupe, ſince it has been reſtored to the dominion of France.

THE flouriſhing ſtate to which Guadalupe had been raiſed by the Engliſh, when they reſtored it at the peace excited a general ſurpriſe. It was beheld by the mother-country with that kind of conſideration and reſpect which opulence inſpires. Hitherto, this, as all the other windwards iſlands, had been ſubordinate to Martinico. It was reſcued

from this dependence, by appointing a governor and an intendant to preſide over it. Theſe new adminiſtrators, deſirous of ſignalizing their arrival by ſome innovation, inſtead of ſuffering the commodities of this iſland to be diſpoſed of through the uſual channel, laid a plan for conveying them directly to Europe. This ſcheme was by no means diſagreeable to the inhabitants, who owed Martinico two millions of livres*, which they were not ready to pay; and it was contrived that the miniſtry at home ſhould adopt it. From that time all intercourſe was ſtrictly prohibited between the two colonies, which became as great ſtrangers to each other, as if they had belonged to rival, or even to hoſtile powers.

THE immediate connections of Guadalupe with France had been hitherto confined to ſix or ſeven ſhips every year. This number was increaſed, but not ſufficiently to enable the colony to diſpoſe of the whole of her produce. This ſcheme was too haſtily carried into execution. It ſhould have been done very gradually and with much caution; for, certainly, moſt innovations in politics require to be introduced and conducted with moderation. The harbours of Guadalupe are but bad, the coaſting trade difficult, and the goods frequently damaged in loading and unloading. Theſe and other reaſons had dettered the merchants of the mother-country from opening a direct trade with the colony, notwithſtanding the inconveniences and charges attending an indirect one. There was a degree of prejudice in this; but many precautions were neceſſary to induce them to get rid of it. It was

* 87,500 l.

neceſſary

neceſſary to intice European ſhips to come to the colony by ſome privileges and indulgencies, which might balance the diſadvantages that kept them away. With this kind of management the intended revolution would have been brought about gradually and inſenſibly. In ſhort, the French ſhips ſhould have been encouraged, in order to keep off thoſe of Martinico; not thoſe of Martinico driven away, to bring in the French ſhips, which might poſſibly never arrive.

Such was the commercial intereſt ſingly conſidered; but, perhaps, it might come in competition with political intereſts of much greater importance. This is what we ſhall now examine.

France has hitherto been unable effectually to protect her own colonies, or to annoy thoſe of her moſt formidable rival. This double advantage can only be procured by a navy equal to that of a power, which openly declares itſelf her natural enemy. Till that period arrives, which, from her preſent ſituation, ſeems to be more and more remote, it concerns her, at leaſt, to put her colonies in America in a condition to provide for themſelves in caſe of a war. This they were able to do when Martinico was the center of all the windward ſettlements. From this iſland, full of traders and ſeamen, and the moſt happily ſituated of all the French iſlands, with regard to the winds that blow in theſe latitudes, were ſent out conſtant ſupplies of men, arms, and proviſions, which reached the other colonies in twenty-four hours, with a moral certainty of not being intercepted, notwithſtanding

the multiplicity and ſtrength of the ſquadrons deſtined to cut off this communication.

Nor was this all. Swarms of privateers, ſent out from Martinico, made it impoſſible for the Britiſh trade to be carried on without a convoy; and as the convoys could not be regularly and continually provided, ſo as to bring a conſtant ſupply to a climate where proviſions will not keep long, the Engliſh iſlands were often reduced to great ſcarcity. The provinces of North-America endeavoured, it is true, to make up this deficiency; but the cargoes ſold ſo cheap, that they could not afford a convoy; ſo that the French privateers were certain of carrying off two fifths of their trade with the ſouthern colonies. And, indeed, all the vigilance and ſkill of the Engliſh could not prevent the Martinico privateers, during the laſt war, from taking fourteen hundred veſſels.

All theſe advantages of Martinico, in which Guadalupe had its ſhare, and which greatly contributed to the victualling of both iſlands, and to diſtreſs the enemy's ſettlements, will be loſt by the ſeparation made between the colonies by the mother-country. Neither merchants, ſeamen, nor ſtationed ſhips, will be any more ſeen there; and, if a war ſhould break out, there will be no fitting out the ſmalleſt armament in thoſe parts. It is the buſineſs of the court of Verſailles to judge whether the direct navigation from the ports of France to Guadalupe can compenſate for ſo great a ſacrifice.

But

Measures taken by France for the defence of Guadalupe.

But can France be assured of enjoying a long and quiet possession of this island? If the enemy that might attack the colony, chose only to plunder the Grande Terre, and to carry off the slaves and cattle from thence, it would be impossible to prevent them, or even to retaliate upon them, unless an army were opposed to them. Fort Lewis, which defends this part of the settlement, is but a wretched star-fort, incapable of much resistance. All that could possibly be expected would be to prevent the devastation from extending any further. The nature of the country presents several situations, some more favourable than others, by which the progress of an assailant may be securely stopped, whatever his courage or his forces may be. He would, therefore, be forced to reimbark and proceed to the attack of what is properly called Guadalupe.

The landing of the enemy could be effected no where but at the bay of the Three Rivers, and at that of the Bailiff; or rather these two places would be most favourable to the success of his enterprise; because they would bring him nearer than any other to Fort St. Charles of the Basseterre, where he would have less difficulties to encounter.

Let the enemy chuse whichever of these landings they please, they will find nothing more than a spot covered with trees, intersected with rivers, hollow-ways, narrow passes, and steep ascents, which they must march over exposed to the French fire. When, by the superiority of their forces, they

have ſurmounted theſe difficulties, they will be ſtopped by the eminence of the great camp. This is a platform ſurrounded by nature with the river Galleon, and with dreadful ravines, to which art has added parapets, barbettes, flanks, and embraſures, to direct the artillery in the moſt advantageous manner. This intrenchment, though formidable, muſt be forced. It is not to be imagined that an intelligent general would ever leave ſuch a poſt as this behind him: his convoys would be too much expoſed, and he could not get up what would be neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege of fort St. Charles without much difficulty.

If thoſe who were firſt employed in fortifying Guadalupe, had underſtood the art of war, or even been only engineers, they would not have failed chuſing the poſition between the river Cenſe and the river Galleon, for erecting their fortifications. The place then would have had towards the ſea-ſide a front, that would have incloſed a harbour capable of containing forty ſail of ſhips, which would have annoyed the enemy's fleet, without being themſelves in the leaſt expoſed. The fronts towards the rivers Galleon and Cenſe would have been inacceſſible, being placed upon the ſummit of two very ſteep aſcents. The fourth front would have been the only place open to an attack; and it would have been an eaſy matter to ſtrengthen that as much as might have been thought proper.

By chuſing the preſent poſition of fort St. Charles, the works, which were conſtructed there, ought at leaſt

leaſt to have flanked each other from the ſea and from the heights. But the principles of fortification were ſo much neglected, that the fire was pointed entirely in a wrong direction, that the internal works were in all parts open to the view, and that the revetements might be battered from the bottom.

Such was the condition of fort St. Charles, when in 1764 it was thought proper to put it in a ſtate of defence. Perhaps, it might have been beſt to deſtroy it totally, and to place the fortifications on the poſition juſt pointed out. It was however thought neceſſary to cover the bad fort conſtructed by unſkillful perſons, with out-works; adding two baſtions towards the ſea-ſide; a good covered-way, which goes all round, together with a glacis, partly cut and partly in a gentle ſlope; two large places of arms with re-entering angles, having each a good redoubt, and behind theſe good tenailles, with caponieres and poſterns of communication with the body of the place; two redoubts, one on the prolongation of the capital of one of the two places of arms, and the other at the extremity of an excellent intrenchment made along the river Galleon, the platform of which is defended by the cannon from another intrenchment made on the top of the bank of the other ſide of the ſame river; large and deep ditches, a reſervoir for water, and a powder magazine, bomb proof; in a word, a ſufficient quantity of works under ground to lodge a third part of the garriſon. All theſe outworks well con-

trived being added to the fort, will enable an active and experienced commander to hold out a ſiege of two months, and perhaps more. But whatever may be the reſiſtance that Guadalupe can oppoſe to the attacks of the enemy, it is time to paſs on to St. Domingo.

Settlement of the French at St. Domingo.

THIS iſland is ſixty leagues in length; its main breadth is about thirty; and its circumference three hundred and fifty, or ſix hundred in coaſting round the ſeveral bays. It is parted lengthways, from eaſt to weſt, by a ridge of mountains, covered with woods, which, riſing gradually, exhibit the fineſt proſpect imaginable. Several of theſe mountains were formerly full of mines, and, perhaps, are ſo ſtill; others are fit for culture. Almoſt all of them form delicious and temperate vallies; but in the plains, where the ſoil is very fertile, the air is ſo ſcorching hot as to be almoſt intolerable, eſpecially in thoſe places by the ſea ſide where the coaſt runs narrow, between the water and the back of the mountains, and is expoſed to a double reflection of the ſun, both from the rocks and the waves.

SPAIN was the ſole proprietor of this large poſſeſſion, when ſome Engliſh and French, who had been driven out of St. Chriſtopher's, took refuge there in 1630. Though the ſouthern coaſt, where they firſt ſettled, was in a manner forſaken, they conſidered, that being liable to be attacked by a common enemy, it was but prudent to ſecure a retreat. For this purpoſe they pitched upon Tortuga, a ſmall iſland within two leagues of the great

one; and twenty-five Spaniards, who were left to guard it, retired on the firſt ſummons.

THE adventurers of both nations, now abſolute maſters of an iſland eight leagues long and two broad, found a pure air, but no river and few ſprings. The mountains were covered with valuable woods, and the fertile plains only wanted the hand of the cultivator. The northern coaſt appeared to be inacceſſible; but the ſouthern had an excellent harbour commanded by a rock, which required only a battery of cannon to defend the entrance of the iſland.

THIS happy ſituation ſoon brought to Tortuga a multitude of thoſe people who are in ſearch either of fortune or liberty. The moſt moderate applied themſelves to the culture of tobacco, which grew into repute, while the more active went to hunt the buffaloes at St. Domingo, and ſold their hides to the Dutch. The moſt intrepid went out to cruize, and performed ſuch bold exploits as will be long remembered.

THIS ſettlement alarmed the court of Madrid. Judging by the loſſes they had already ſuſtained, of the misfortunes they had ſtill to expect, they gave orders for the deſtruction of the new colony. The general of the galleons choſe, for executing his commiſſion, the time when the brave inhabitants of Tortuga were out at ſea or a hunting, and with that barbarity which was then ſo familiar to his nation, carried off or put to the ſword all thoſe who were left at home. He then withdrew, without leaving any garriſon, fully perſuaded that

that ſuch a precaution was needleſs, after the vengeance he had taken. But he ſoon found that cruelty is not the method to ſecure dominion.

The adventurers, informed of what had paſſed at Tortuga, and hearing at the ſame time that a body of five hundred men, deſtined to harraſs them, was getting ready at St. Domingo, judged that the only way to eſcape the impending ruin, was to put an end to that anarchy in which they lived. They, therefore, gave up perſonal independence to ſocial ſafety, and made choice of one Willes to be at their head; an Engliſhman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions by his prudence and valour. Under the guidance of this chief, at the latter end of 1638, they retook an iſland which they had poſſeſſed for eight years, and fortified it, that they might not loſe it again.

The French ſoon felt the effects of national partiality. Willes, having ſent for as many of his countrymen as would enable him to give laws, treated the reſt as ſubjects. Such is the natural progreſs of dominion; in this manner moſt monarchies have been formed. Companions in exile, war, or piracy, have choſen a leader, who ſoon uſurps the authority of a maſter. At firſt he ſhares the power or the ſpoils with the ſtrongeſt; till the multitude, cruſhed by the few, embolden the chief to aſſume the whole power to himſelf; and then monarchy degenerates into deſpotiſm. But ſuch a ſeries of revolutions can only take place in many years in great ſtates. An iſland of ſixteen leagues ſquare is of too much conſequence

quence to be peopled with ſlaves. The commander De Poincy, governor-general of the Windward iſlands, being informed of the tyranny of Willes, immediately ſent forty Frenchmen from St. Chriſtopher's, who collected fifty more on the coaſt of St. Domingo. They landed at Tortuga; and, having joined their countrymen on the iſland, they alltogether ſummoned the Engliſh to withdraw. The Engliſh, diſconcerted at ſuch an unexpected and vigorous action, and not doubting but ſo much haughtineſs was ſupported by a much greater force than it really was, evacuated the iſland, and never returned.

THE Spaniards were not ſo tractable. They ſuffered ſo much from the depredations of the pirates which were daily ſent out from Tortuga, that they thought their peace, their honour, and their intereſt, were equally concerned in getting that iſland once more in their own power. Three times they recovered it, and were three times driven out again. At laſt it remained in the hands of the French, in 1659, and they kept it till they were ſo firmly eſtabliſhed at St. Domingo, as to diſregard ſo ſmall a ſettlement.

THEIR progreſs, however, was but ſlow, and they firſt drew the attention of the mother-country in 1665. Huntſmen, indeed, and pirates were continually ſeen hovering about from one iſland to another; but the number of planters, who were properly the only coloniſts, did not exceed four hundred. The government was ſenſible how neceſſary it was to multiply them; and the care of this

BOOK XIII.

this difficult work was committed to a gentleman of Anjou, named Bertrand Dogeron.

Measures taken by the French to render this colony advantageous.

THIS man, whom nature had formed to be great in himself, independent of the ſmiles or frowns of fortune, had ſerved fifteen years in the marines, when he went over to America in 1756. With the beſt-contrived plans, he failed in his firſt attempts; but the fortitude he ſhewed in his misfortunes made his virtues the more conſpicuous; and the expedients he found out to extricate himſelf, heightened the opinion already entertained of his genius. The eſteem and attachment, he had inſpired the French with at St. Domingo and Tortuga, induced the government to intruſt him with the care of directing, or rather of ſettling, that colony.

THE execution of this project was full of difficulties. It was neceſſary to ſubdue a lawleſs crew, who, till then, had lived in a ſtate of the moſt abſolute independence; to reconcile to labour a troop of plunderers, who delighted only in rapine and idleneſs; to prevail upon men accuſtomed to trade freely with all nations, to ſubmit to the privileges of an excluſive company formed in 1664, for all the French ſettlements. When this was effected, it then became neceſſary to allure new inhabitants into a country which had been traduced as a bad climate, and which was not yet known to be ſo fertile as it really was.

DOGERON, contrary to the general opinion, was in hopes he ſhould ſucceed. A long intercourſe with men he was to govern, had taught him how they

they were to be dealt with; and his ſagacity could ſuggeſt, or his honeſt ſoul adopt no method of engaging them, but what was noble and juſt. The free-booters were determined to go in ſearch of more advantageous latitudes; he detained them, by relinquiſhing to them that ſhare of the booty which his poſt entitled him to, and by obtaining for them from Portugal commiſſions for attacking the Spaniards, even after they had made peace with France. This was the only method to make theſe men friends to their country, who otherwiſe would have turned enemies, rather than have renounced the hopes of plunder. The buccaneers, or huntſmen, who only wiſhed to raiſe a ſufficiency to erect habitations, found him ready to advance them money without intereſt, or to procure them ſome by his credit. As for the planters, whom he preferred to all the other coloniſts, he gave them every poſſible encouragement within the power of his induſtrious activity.

These happy alterations required only to be made permanent. The governor wiſely conſidered, that women could alone perpetuate the happineſs of the men and the welfare of the colony, by promoting population. There was not one female on the new ſettlement. He therefore ſent for ſome. Fifty came over from France, and were ſoon diſpoſed of at a very high price. Soon after, a like number arrived, and were obtained on ſtill higher terms. This was the only way to gratify the moſt impetuous of all paſſions without quarrels, and to propagate the human race without bloodſhed. All

the

the inhabitants expected to have female companions from their own country, to alleviate and to ſhare their fate. But they were diſappointed; none were afterwards ſent over, except abandoned women, who uſed to engage themſelves for three years in the ſervice of the men. This method of loading the colony with the refuſe of the mother-country, introduced ſuch a profligacy of manners, that it became neceſſary to put a ſtop to ſo dangerous an expedient, but without ſubſtituting a better. By this neglect, St. Domingo loſt a great many honeſt men, who could not live happy there, and was deprived of an increaſe of population, which might have proceeded from the coloniſts, who ſtill preſerved their attachment to the iſland. The colony has long felt, and, perhaps, feels to this day, the effects of ſo capital an error.

NOTWITHSTANDING this error, Dogeron found means to increaſe the number of planters to fifteen hundred in four years time, when there were only four hundred at his firſt coming. His ſucceſſes were daily increaſing; when they were ſuddenly ſtopped, in 1670, by an inſurrection, which put the whole colony in a ferment. He was not at all cenſured for this unfortunate accident, in which he certainly had not the leaſt ſhare.

WHEN this worthy man was appointed by the court of France to the government of Tortuga and St. Domingo, he could only prevail upon the inhabitants to acknowledge his authority, by giving them hopes that the ports under his juriſdiction ſhould be open to foreigners. Yet ſuch was the aſcendent

aſcendent he gained over their minds, that by degrees he eſtabliſhed in the colony the excluſive privilege of the company; which in time engroſſed the whole trade. But this company became ſo elated with proſperity, as to be guilty of the injuſtice of ſelling their goods for two-thirds more than had till then been paid to the Dutch. So deſtructive a monopoly revolted the inhabitants. They took up arms; and it was but a year after, that they laid them down, upon condition that all French ſhips ſhould be free to trade with them, paying five *per cent.* to the company at coming in and going out. Dogeron, who brought about this accommodation, availed himſelf of that circumſtance to procure two ſhips, ſeemingly deſtined to convey his crops into Europe, but which in fact were more the property of his coloniſts than his own. Every one ſhipped his own commodities on board, allowing a moderate freight. On the return of the veſſel, the generous governor cauſed the cargo to be expoſed to public view, and every one took what he wanted, not only at prime-coſt, but upon truſt, without intereſt, and even without notes of hand. Dogeron had imagined he ſhould inſpire them with ſentiments of probity and greatneſs of ſoul, by taking no other ſecurity than their word. He was cut off by death in the midſt of theſe parental offices, in 1673; leaving no other inheritance than an example of patriotiſm, and of every humane and ſocial virtue.

His nephew Pouancey ſucceeded rather to the duties than to the honours of his place. With the ſame qualifications as Dogeron, he was not ſo great a man; becauſe he followed his ſteps more from imitation than from natural diſpoſition. Yet the undiſcerning multitude placed an equal confidence in both; and both had the honour and happineſs to eſtabliſh the colony upon a firm footing, without laws and without ſoldiers. Their natural good ſenſe, and their known integrity, determined all differences to the ſatisfaction of both parties; and public order was maintained by that authority which is the natural conſequence of perſonal merit.

So wiſe a conſtitution could not be laſting; it required too much virtue to make it ſo. In 1684 there was ſo viſible an alteration, that, in order to eſtabliſh a due ſubordination at St. Domingo, two adminiſtrators were called in from Martinico, where good policy was already in a great meaſure ſettled. Theſe legiſlators appointed courts of judicature in the ſeveral diſtricts, accountable to a ſuperior council at Little Gouave. In proceſs of time this juriſdiction growing too extenſive, a like tribunal was erected in 1702, at Cape St. Francis, for the northern diſtricts.

All theſe innovations could hardly be introduced without ſome oppoſition. It was to be feared that the hunters and pirates, who compoſed the bulk of the people, averſe from the reſtraints that were going to be laid upon them, would go over to the Spaniards and to Jamaica, allured by the proſpect of great advantages. The planters themſelves

themſelves were under ſome temptation of this kind, as their trade was clogged with ſo many reſtrictions, that they were forced to ſell their commodities at a very low price. The former were gained by perſuaſions; the latter by the proſpect of a change in their ſituation, which was truly deſperate.

SKINS had been the firſt article of exportation from St. Domingo, as being the only things the buccaneers brought home. Tobacco was afterwards added by the culture of lands; and it was ſold to great advantage to all nations. This trade was ſoon confined by an excluſive company; which, indeed, was in a ſhort time aboliſhed, but with no advantage for the ſale of tobacco, ſince that was farmed out. The inhabitants, hoping to meet with ſome indulgence from government, as a reward for their ſubmiſſion, offered to give the king a fourth part of all the tobacco they ſhould ſend into the kingdom, free of all charge, even of freight, upon condition they ſhould have the entire diſpoſal of the other three-fourths. They made it appear, that this method would bring in a clearer profit to the revenue than the forty ſols * *per cent.* which were paid by the farmer. Private intereſts oppoſed ſo reaſonable a propoſal. This inſtance of ſeverity exaſperated the coloniſts; and, fortunately for them, they applied themſelves wholly to the culture of indigo and cocoa. Cotton was a very promiſing article, becauſe it had in former times greatly enriched the Spaniards; but they

* 1s. 9d.

they ſoon gave it up, for what reaſon is not known; and in a few years not a ſingle cotton plant was to be ſeen.

Till then the labours had all been performed by hirelings, and by the pooreſt of the inhabitants. Some ſucceſsful expeditions againſt the Spaniards, procured them a few negroes. The number was increaſed by two or three French ſhips, and much more by prizes taken from the Engliſh during the war of 1688; by an invaſion of Jamaica, from whence the French brought away three thouſand blacks, in 1694. Without ſlaves, the culture of ſugar could not be undertaken; but they alone were not ſufficient. Money was wanting to erect buildings, and to purchaſe utenſils. The profit ſome inhabitants made with the free-booters, who were always ſucceſsful in their expeditions, enabled them to employ the ſlaves. They therefore undertook the planting of thoſe canes, which convey the gold of Mexico to nations whoſe only mines are fruitful lands.

But the colony, which, though it had loſt ſome of its Europeans, had ſtill made a progreſs to the north and weſt, amidſt the devaſtations that preceded the peace of Ryſwick, was yet but little advanced to the ſouth. This part, which includes fifty leagues of ſea-coaſt, had not a hundred inhabitants, all living in huts, and all extremely wretched. The government could fix upon no better expedient, to make ſome advantage of ſo extenſive and ſo fine a country, than to grant, in 1698, for the ſpace of thirty years, the property

of

of it to a company, which took the name of *St. Louis*. This company, in imitation of Jamaica and Curaſſou, was to open a contraband trade with the Spaniſh continent, and to clear the vaſt tract of land included in the grant. This laſt object, as it was the moſt important, was ſoon the only one that was attended to.

To advance the improvement of agriculture, the company freely granted lands to all who applied for them. Each perſon, according to his wants and abilities, obtained ſlaves that were to be paid for in three years; the men at the rate of ſix hundred livres *; and the women at the rate of four hundred and fifty livres †. The ſame credit was allowed for merchandiſe, though it was to be delivered at the market price. The company engaged to buy up all the produce of the lands at the ſame rate as thoſe commodities were ſold for in the other parts of the iſland. The ſociety, which made ſo many conceſſions, had no other compenſations for them but the excluſive right of buying and ſelling through the whole territory aſſigned to them. Even this dependence, oppreſſive to the coloniſt, was ſtill alleviated by allowing him to take, where he pleaſed, whatever he was left in want of, and to pay out of his proviſions whatever he might have occaſion to buy.

The monopoliſt, as a torrent that is loſt in the abyſs itſelf has made, works his own ruin by his rapaciouſneſs, by draining the country where he exerciſes his tyranny. This miſmanagement of the

* 261. 5s. † 191. 13s. 9d

oppreſſor, the dejection of the oppreſſed, both concur to check induſtry and trade in ſtates ſubjected to excluſive privileges. The company of St. Louis affords an inſtance, among many others, of the ill effects of ſuch private combinations. It was ruined by the knavery and extravagance of its agents; nor was the territory committed to its care, the better for all theſe loſſes. The plantations and people that were found there, when the company gave up her rights to the government in 1720, were chiefly owing to the contraband traders.

Misfortunes that happen to the colony.

It was during the long and bloody war begun on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, that this attempt had been made towards the improvement of the colony. It might have been expected to have made a ſpeedy progreſs, when tranquillity was reſtored to both nations by the peace of Utrecht. Theſe happy proſpects were blaſted by one of thoſe calamities which it is not in the power of man to foreſee. All the cocoa-trees upon the colony died in 1715. Dogeron had planted the firſt in 1665. In proceſs of time they had increaſed; eſpecially in the narrow valleys to the weſtward. There were no leſs than twenty thouſand upon ſome plantations; ſo that, though cocoa ſold for no more than five ſols * a pound, it was become a plentiful ſource of wealth.

Cultivations of greater importance amply compenſated this loſs, when the colony was threatened with a total ſubverſion. A conſiderable number

* Two-pence halfpenny.

number of its inhabitants, who had devoted twenty or thirty years labour in a burning climate, to lay up a competency to ſpend a comfortable old age in their native country, were returned to it, with a ſufficient fortune to enable them to diſcharge their debts and purchaſe eſtates. Their commodities were paid them in bank notes, which proved uſeleſs to them. This fatal calamity obliged them to return poor into an iſland from whence they had departed rich; and reduced them in their old age, to ſolicit places, as ſtewards to the very people who had formerly been their ſervants. The ſight of ſo many unfortunate perſons, inſpired a general deteſtation, both of Law's ſcheme, and of the India company, which was conſidered as accountable for this ill-concerted project of finance. This averſion, raiſed by mere compaſſion, was ſoon ſtrengthened by very conſiderable perſonal intereſts.

In 1722, agents came from the India company, which had obtained an excluſive grant of the negro trade, on condition that they ſhould furniſh two thouſand negroes yearly. This was evidently a double misfortune for the colony, which could not expect to get above one-fifth of the ſlaves they wanted, and foreſaw that thoſe would be ſold at an extravagant price. Their diſcontent broke out into acts of the greateſt violence. Some commiſſaries, who, by their inſolent behaviour, had greatly heightened the dread naturally conceived of all monopoly, were forced to repaſs the ſeas. The buildings where they tranſacted their buſineſs were

burnt to the ground. The ſhips that came to them from Africa, were either denied admittance into the harbour, or not ſuffered to diſpoſe of their cargoes. The chief governor, who endeavoured to oppoſe theſe diſturbances, ſaw his authority deſpiſed, and his orders diſobeyed, as they were not enforced by any compulſive power: he was even put under arreſt. Every part of the iſland reſounded with the clamours of ſedition, and the noiſe of arms. It is difficult to ſay how far theſe exceſſes would have been carried, had not government had the prudence to make conceſſions. This extreme confuſion laſted two years. At length, the inconveniences reſulting from anarchy diſpoſed the minds of all parties to peace, and tranquillity was reſtored without having recourſe to violent meaſures.

From that period, no colony ever ſo much improved its time as that of St. Domingo. It advanced with the utmoſt rapidity to a proſperous ſtate. The two unfortunate wars which annoyed its ſeas, have only ſerved to compreſs its ſtrength, which has increaſed the more ſince the ceſſation of hoſtilities. A wound is ſoon healed when the conſtitution is ſound. Diſeaſes themſelves are a kind of remedies, which, by the expulſion of the vitiated humours, add new vigour to a robuſt habit of body. They reſtore the equilibrium of the whole frame, and impart to it a more regular and uniform motion. So war ſeems to ſtrengthen and ſupport national ſpirit in many ſtates of Europe, which might be enervated and corrupted by the proſperity

prosperity of commerce, and the enjoyments of luxury. The immense losses which almost equally attend victory and defeat, excite industry and quicken labour. Nations will recover their former splendour, provided their rulers will let them follow their own bent, and not pretend to direct their steps. This principle is peculiarly applicable to France, where nothing more is requisite to prosperity than to give a free course to the activity of the inhabitants. Wherever nature leaves them at full liberty, they succeed in giving her powers their full scope. St. Domingo affords a striking instance of what may be expected from a good soil and an advantageous situation, in the hands of Frenchmen.

Present state of this

THIS colony has 180 leagues of sea-coast, lying to the north, the west, and the south. The southern part extends from cape Tiburon, to the point of Cape Beata, which takes in about fifty leagues of coast, more or less confined by the mountains. The Spaniards had built two large towns in that part, at the time of their prosperity, but forsook them in their decline. The vacant towns were not immediately occupied by the French, who might not think themselves in safety so near the town of St. Domingo, where was centered the chief force of the nation upon whose ruins they were rising. Their privateers, who commonly assembled at the little island called Vache Island, to cruize upon the Castilians, and divide their spoils, emboldened them to begin a settlement on the neighbouring coast in 1673. It

BOOK XIII.

was ſoon deſtroyed, and was not reſumed till a conſiderable time after. The company appointed to ſettle and extend this colony might be of ſome ſervice to it; but the progreſs it made was chiefly owing to the Engliſh of Jamaica, and the Dutch of Curaſſou; who, having reſolved to carry almoſt all their ſlaves to this place, bought up the produce of a land which they themſelves contributed to improve. The merchants of France have at length become informed; and ſince the year 1740, they frequent that part which is the moſt diſtant of the colony, though the ſailing out of this road is ſometimes very tedious and difficult, on account of the winds.

The ſettlement that lies to windward of the reſt, is called Jaquemel. Though of a pretty long ſtanding, it contains but forty-two houſes. The ſoil of this and the neighbouring ſettlements is ſo hemmed in by the mountains, that no great degree of opulence is to be expected from it; but, in another view, it merits the attention of government. It lies very conveniently for the reception of any troops or warlike ſtores, which the mother-country might chooſe to convey to the colony in time of war, and which would run great riſques in taking the north ſide; that being the natural and conſtant ſtation of the enemy's ſquadrons. Jaquemel may alſo be of great ſervice in another view. The little Dutch iſland of Curaſſou affords in times of hoſtilities an inexhauſtible ſtore of proviſions. Their privateers being ſtrong and bold enough to beat the little privateers of Jamaica, the only

Engliſh

Engliſh veſſels that have hitherto obſtructed their operations, have poured an immenſe ſtock of proviſions into the port of Jaquemel, during the late troubles. They will continue this ſupply as long as is required, provided their landing is only ſecured by proper batteries, or by the protection of a frigate or two. This place will ſupply the weſtern ſide of St. Domingo, by a road of eight leagues only, which leads to Leogane and Port-au-Prince; and the ſouthern ſide by ſmall boats that can eaſily range the coaſt.

While Jaquemel furniſhes the ſupplies, St. Lewis is the defence of the iſland. This town, built in the beginning of the century, lies at the bottom of a bay, which makes a tolerable harbour. It contains but forty houſes, and ſeems to be naturally deſtined to perpetual poverty, wanting even the aſſiſtance of art to ſupply its inhabitants with water fit to drink. Some Jews, who live without the gates of St. Lewis, at length undertook to form an aqueduct, which they engaged to conſtruct at their own expence. This place is the ſeat of government, and receives the few men of war which appear in theſe latitudes. This is the only advantage it has; and it is by this it is able to protect the trade and wealth of Cayes, which lies ten leagues lower.

This town ſeems to have been placed, as it were, fortuitouſly in the botom of a ſhallow bay, which grows more and more ſo, and has but three channels. The anchorage is ſo confined and ſo dangerous during the equinox, that ſhips which happen

pen to be there at that ſeaſon, are frequently loſt. The great quantity of mud brought thither by a torrent, called the ſouth river, has increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in thirty years time there will be no entrance. The canal, formed by the vicinity of Vache Iſland, is of no uſe, and only obſtructs the navigation. The creeks in this place are the reſort of the privateers of Jamaica. As they cruize there without ſails, and can obſerve without being ſeen, they always have the advantage of the wind over ſuch veſſels as are hindered by the violence and conſtant courſe of the winds from paſſing above the iſland. If any men of war ſhould be forced to put into this bad harbour, the impoſſibility of ſurmounting this obſtacle and that of the currents, in order to get to windward of the iſland, would oblige them to follow the track of merchant ſhips. Doubling, therefore, one after another the point of Labacou, on account of the ſhoals, theſe ſhips would get between the land and the enemy's fire, with the diſadvantage of the wind, and would infallibly be deſtroyed by an inferior ſquadron.

THE town of Cayes is not better than its harbour. It contains 280 houſes, all ſunk into ſwampy ground, and moſt of them ſurrounded with ſtagnant water. The air of this ſpot is foul and unwholeſome; and on this account, as well as the badneſs of the harbour, it has often been wiſhed that the trade with the mother-country could be transferred to St. Lewis. But the efforts that have been made to effect this, have hitherto

been unſucceſsful; and will for ever be ſo, for very evident reaſons.

THE town of Cayes is ſurrounded with a plain nearly ſix leagues long, and four and a half broad. The ground which is very even, extremely fruitful, and in every part fit for the culture of ſugar, is well watered in many places, and may be ſo every where. Nothing is wanting to make it rival the plain of the cape, but an equal number of ſlaves. Theſe are daily increaſing, and will ſoon multiply to ſuch a number as to make the moſt of this fertile ſpot. So many advantages are an inducement to perſons who croſs the ſeas merely in hopes of making a ſpeedy fortune, to go directly to Cayes.

To pretend to thwart this partiality would be to retard to no purpoſe the progreſs of a good ſettlement. Even the caprices of induſtry ſhould be indulged by government. The leaſt uneaſineſs in the trader creates diſtruſt. Political and military reaſonings will never prevail againſt thoſe of intereſt. The colonies are influenced by no other rule. Wherever there is the greateſt plenty of ſpecie, there they ſettle. Trade is like a plant that only flouriſhes in a ſoil of its own chuſing. It diſdains every kind of reſtraint. Forbidding the trade of Cayes would be juſt as abſurd a piece of tyranny, as ordering the dealers at a fair to quit their ſtalls.

ALL that the French miniſtry could reaſonably propoſe, would be to fortify, and in ſome meaſure to render this place more wholeſome. Both might be effected, by digging a ditch all round the

the town, and the rubbiſh would ſerve to fill up the marſhes within. The ground being raiſed higher by this contrivance, would conſequently grow drier; the water, which would be brought down by a gentle deſcent from the river into this deep ditch, would, by the aſſiſtance of ſome fortifications, ſecure the towns from the attacks of the privateers; and would even afford a temporary defence, and allow time to capitulate with a ſquadron.

GREATER improvements might ſtill be made. Why not allow a factitious harbour to an important mart, which will ſoon be ſtopped? The merchant ſhips that ſeek ſhelter in what is called the Flemiſh Bay, leſs than two leagues to windward of Cayes, ſeem to point out this ſpot as the harbour that this town ſtands in want of. It would contain a conſiderable number of men of war, ſafe from all winds; would afford them ſeveral careening places; would admit of their doubling the Vache Iſland to windward, and enable them to carry on with the town along-ſide the coaſt, an intercourſe; which, being protected by batteries properly diſpoſed, would intimidate the privateers. The only inconvenience is, that the ſhip-worm is more apt to injure the veſſel in this place than in other parts; on account of the nature of the bottom, and the calmneſs of the ſea.

THERE is a ſafer anchorage at the town of Coteaux; but it is only fit for ſmall veſſels. The foreign trade which is allowed there in time of war, and can ſcarce be prevented in time of peace, has

has rendered this port of conſequence; which is, however, almoſt in a defenceleſs ſtate. Next to Cayes, this is the principal town upon the coaſt, where moſt buſineſs is tranſacted. Its territory, and the adjacent country, whoſe productions it conſumes, abounds chiefly in indigo; but very little of this is conveyed to France.

THE ſouthern part terminates at cape Tiburon. The little ſettlement that has been formed there, in lieu of a harbour, has only a road, in which the ſea is conſtantly rough; but its fortifications are a protection to ſuch merchant ſhips as are able to double the cape. It affords a retreat both to neutral ſhips, which being purſued by pirates, have not been able to reach Jaquemel; as well as to men of war, which may be in danger from the violence of the winds in theſe latitudes; or from the ſuperior ſtrength of an enemy's ſquadron.

THOUGH this coaſt is the leaſt of the three belonging to the French colony of St. Domingo, and that on the laſt day of December, 1766, it contained but 33,663 ſlaves; yet it is ſo conſiderable, that the mother-country may expect in time as great a produce from it as from the richeſt of her Windward iſlands. It is at preſent greatly expoſed from its vicinity to Jamaica; but in time it may be in a condition to threaten that bulwark of the Engliſh, when once the lands are improved, the country well peopled, the ſea-ports fortified and defended, and when once it has attained that degree of proſperity to which a good adminiſtration ought to bring it.

IN

In paſſing from the ſouth to the weſt, the next ſettlement is at Cape Donna Miara. It is at preſent ſo weak, that in twenty leagues of ſea-coaſt, there are not above fifty Europeans able to bear arms. And, indeed, a declaration of war is to them a ſignal of retreat, although they ventured to remain in their habitations during the late hoſtilities. But every inhabitant took care to provide a ſubterraneous retreat for himſelf and his ſlaves, whenever any privateer appeared. Notwithſtanding this precaution, ſeveral of their works have been ſurpriſed and carried off.

The next diſtrict, known by the name of *la Grande Anſe*, or *l'Anſe de Jeremie*, is not ſo liable to theſe accidents. This town, ſituated on a riſing ground where the air is pure, has ſome good houſes, and ſeems to promiſe to be ſucceſsful. The great plenty of its cotton and cocoa has induced ſome merchants to trade there, and it is to this place that privateers, which cruize upon the coaſt of Jamaica, bring in their prizes. Culture and population have made ſome progreſs, and promiſe much more.

The ſame ſucceſs is not to be expected at *Petit Guave*. This place, ſo famous in the times of the free-booters, is now only a heap of ruins. Its former ſplendour was owing to a road, where ſhips of all burdens found excellent anchorage, conveniences for refitting, and a ſhelter from all winds. As a harbour it would ſtill be conſiderable and frequented, were it not for the vicinity of Gonave, and for the ſtagnating waters of the river Abaret,

Abaret, which is loſt in the moraſſes, and renders the air foul and unwholeſome.

LEOGANE, ſituated within five leagues of Petit Guave, contains 317 houſes, which form a long ſquare, and fifteen ſtreets, ſpacious and well laid out. It ſtands half a league from the ſea, in a narrow but fertile plain, well cultivated, and watered with a great many rivulets. The inhabitants are extremely deſirous of having a canal opened from the town to the anchorage, which would ſave the inconvenience of land carriage. If it were adviſeable to have a fortified town on the weſtern coaſt, undoubtedly Leogane would claim the preference. It ſtands upon plain ground, is not commanded by any eminence, nor can it be annoyed by any ſhips. But to ſecure it from being ſurpriſed, it ſhould be ſurrounded by a rampart of earth with a deep ditch, which might be filled with water without the leaſt expence. This might be effected at a much leſs expence, than the works which have been begun at Port-au-Prince; and with what ſucceſs we muſt now leave the reader to determine.

THE weſtern part of the iſland was the firſt that was cultivated by the French, that being at the greateſt diſtance from the Spaniſh forces, which they had then reaſon to fear. This being in the center of the coaſts in their poſſeſſion, the ſeat of government was fixed there. It was firſt ſettled at the Petit Guave, but they were ſoon diſguſted of the barrenneſs and unwholeſomeneſs of this ſpot. It was then transferred to Leogane, and afterwards

to

to Port-au-Prince, which in 1750 became the reſidence of a ſuperior council, a commander in chief and an intendant. The place that was made choice of for the intended capital, is an opening about 1400 toiſes long in a direct line, and commanded on both ſides. Two harbours, formed by ſome iſlets, have afforded a pretence for this injudicious choice. The harbour intended for trading veſſels being now almoſt filled up, can no longer admit men of war with ſafety; and the great harbour deſigned for theſe, being as unwholeſome as the other, from the exhalations of the ſmall iſlands, neither is nor can be defended by any thing againſt a ſuperior enemy.

A SMALL ſquadron might even block up a ſtronger one in ſo unfavourable a poſition. Gonave, which divides the bay in two, would leave a free and ſafe paſſage for the ſmaller ſquadron; the ſea winds would prevent the other ſquadron from getting up to it; the land winds, by facilitating the exit of the enemy's ſhips from the harbour, would leave them the choice of retreating through either of the outlets of St. Mark and Leogane; and they would, all other circumſtances being equal, always have the advantage of keeping Gonave between them and the French ſquadron.

BUT what would be the conſequence if the French ſquadron ſhould prove the weakeſt? Diſabled and purſued, it could never gain a ſhelter that runs ſo deep into land as Port-au-Prince, before the conqueror had taken advantage of its defeat. If the diſabled ſhips ſhould reach the place,

nothing could hinder the enemy from purſuing them almoſt in a line, and even from entering the king's harbour, where they would take refuge.

The beſt of all ſtations for a cruize is that where one may chuſe whether one will accept or decline the fight, where there is but a ſmall ſpace to guard, where the whole may be viewed from one central point, where a ſafe anchorage may be found at every tack, where one may be concealed without going far, procure wood and water at pleaſure, and ſail in open ſeas, in which there is nothing to fear but from ſqualls. Theſe are the advantages that an enemy's ſquadron will always have over the French ſhips at anchor in Port-au-Prince. A ſingle frigate might ſafely come and bid them defiance, and be ſufficient to intercept any trading ſhips that ſhould attempt to go in or out without a convoy.

Nevertheless, a harbour ſo unfavourable as this hath determined the building of the town. It extends along the ſea-ſhore the ſpace of 1200 toiſes, that is, nearly along the opening which the ſea has made in the center of the weſtern coaſt. In this great extent, which runs in to the depth of 550 toiſes, are, as it were loſt, 558 houſes or dwelling places, diſperſed in 29 ſtreets. The drainings of the torrents that fall from the hills, render this place always damp, without ſupplying it with good water. The inhabitants muſt ſend to a conſiderable diſtance to procure ſome that is wholeſome. Add to all this, the little ſecurity there is in a place commanded on the land ſide, and on the ſea ſide eaſy of acceſs in all parts.

BOOK XIII.

Even the ſmall iſlands which divide the harbours would be ſo far from defending the town from an invaſion, that they would only ſerve to cover the landing.

THIS deſcription, which will not be contradicted by any unprejudiced man acquainted with the place, plainly ſhews that the government has beſtowed too much attention on Port-au-Prince. It would be a fatal error obſtinately to oppoſe nature, and endeavour to defend by art a place that lies open to invaſion on all ſides. It would ſtill be a greater one to collect there the courts of juſtice, troops, warlike ſtores, proviſions, the arſenal, in a word, all that conſtitutes the ſupport of a great colony, and at the ſame time to leave it open to the enemy. This port ought merely to ſerve for the embarkation of the crops gathered in the adjacent fields, and in the rich plain of the Cul-de-ſac. This would only require a guard ſufficient to prevent a ſurprize, and to ſecure the retreat of the inhabitants, who will always be ready to abandon a place, which muſt inevitably ſurrender on the firſt attack.

SAINT MARK will never be in a more flouriſhing ſtate than Port-au-Prince. This town is not very deep, but extends along the ſhore, at the bottom of a bay crowned with a creſcent of hills, which are only parted from the ſea by a very ſmall plain. Nature has left this interval of life and cultivation between the aridity of the mountains and the abyſs of the waters. But theſe hills, though barren, are not altogether uſeleſs: they

have the property, which is found in no other part of the colony, of furniſhing as good free-ſtone as any in Europe, and the coaſt itſelf ſupplies it without much labour. With this ſtone the town is built. It conſiſts of 154 houſes, formerly defended by an intrenchment of earth, which is now deſtroyed.

St. Mark is a very trading place. All ſuch commodities as are not ſent to Port-au-Prince are brought thither, as likewiſe are all the crops gathered from within the town to the mole of St. Nicholas. The proſperity of this place would be greatly increaſed, if the plain of the Artibonite could be watered, which is naturally too dry, but would ſurpaſs the beſt lands in fruitfulneſs, if this could be once effected.

The Artibonite takes its name from a river which divides it lengthways, almoſt from one end to the other. The waters of this river confined by ſluices, flow conſtantly on the higheſt part of the plain. The height of the bed of the river has long ago ſuggeſted the idea of dividing it, and it has been geometrically demonſtrated that this is practicable; ſuch conſiderable advantages are enlightened nations able to obtain over nature itſelf. But a project, founded on mathematical knowledge, ought not to be carried into execution without the utmoſt caution. The impetuoſity of the ſtream, when ſwelled by rains, and the ſoftneſs of the ſoil on which the river flows, make it very dangerous to make any alteration in the banks. The ſmalleſt outlet, injudiciouſly made, would in a few moments

open ſuch an enormous breach, as would make way for very alarming and deſtructive inundations over a vaſt tract of land.

NEVERTHELESS, all the proprietors are impatient to ſee this great work undertaken. But adminiſtration muſt judge whether private ſocieties, which ſolicit leave to procure conveniences of water that can only ſerve to enrich their own grounds, would not be detrimental to the project of watering the whole country. Rather than ſuffer public welfare to give place to private intereſt, the government ſhould aſſiſt thoſe who cannot afford to contribute towards the general conveyance of water. They will ſoon be repaid by an increaſe of one ſixth in the produce of the colony. This increaſe would be greater ſtill, if a method could be deviſed to drain that part of the coaſt which is overflowed in the waters of the Artibonite. Thus it is that the civilized man makes the earth ſubſervient to his own uſe, by altering the courſe of the rivers. The fertility he imparts to the land can alone juſtify his conqueſts, if indeed art and labour, laws and virtues, may be allowed in proceſs of time to atone for the injuſtice of an invaſion.

THE weſtern part of the colony, which on the laſt day of December, 1766, contained alone 83,080 ſlaves, is ſeparated from the northern part by the mole of St. Nicholas, which lays on both coaſts. At the head of the cape is a good, ſafe, and commodious harbour. It ſtands directly oppoſite to Point Maizi, in the iſland of Cuba, and ſeems naturally

turally deſtined by this poſition to become the moſt important poſt in all America for the convenience of navigation. The opening of the bay is 1450 toiſes broad. The road leads to the harbour, and the harbour to the baſon. All this great receſs is wholeſome, though the waters of the ſea are almoſt in a ſtate of ſtagnation there. The baſon, which ſeems as if made for the purpoſe of careening, has not the inconvenience of cloſe harbours: it is open to the weſt and north winds; and yet, if they blow ever ſo hard, they can never interrupt or retard any work that is done in the harbour. The peninſula where the harbour is ſituated, riſes gradually to the plains, which ſtand upon a very large baſis; it ſeems, as it were, a ſingle mountain, with a broad and flat top, deſcending with a gentle ſlope to unite with the reſt of the iſland.

THE mole of St. Nicholas was long neglected by the inhabitants of St. Domingo. The bare hills and flat rocks it abounded with, afforded nothing worth their notice. The uſe which the Engliſh made of it during the laſt war, has rendered it of ſome kind of conſequence. The French miniſtry, inſtructed by their very enemies, ſent over a number of Acadians and Germans, who all periſhed there with aſtoniſhing rapidity. This is conſtantly the fate that attends all new ſettlements between the tropics. The few that have out-lived the fatal effects of the climate, and thoſe of diſappointment and poverty, are daily deſerting the poor and barren ſoil of St. Nicholas. Poſſibly the

freedom granted to foreigners to frequent this place, may put a ſtop to the emigration. Perhaps the facility with which the coloniſts may be able to diſpoſe of their crops and their cattle in conſequence of this communication, may fix them upon the lands allotted to them. They afford, however, no commodities fit for Europe, except cotton.

THE next ſettlement on the north coaſt is called Port Paix. It owed its origin to the neighbourhood of Tortuga, whoſe inhabitants took refuge there when they forſook that iſland. The grounds were cleared ſo early, that this is one of the healthieſt ſpots in St. Domingo, and has long ſince attained the utmoſt degree of richneſs and population it is capable of; but theſe are not very conſiderable, though induſtry has been carried ſo far as even to pierce through mountains for the conveyance of water to moiſten the grounds. They have very little ſugar, and chiefly apply themſelves to the culture of indigo, coffee, and cotton. Port Paix is on all ſides ſo difficult of acceſs, that it is in a manner cut off from the reſt of the iſland. The next ſettlement to this retired place is Cape François.

THIS town is built on the ſide of an extenſive plain, twenty leagues long and four broad. Few lands are better watered; but there is not one river where a ſloop can go up above three miles. All this great ſpace is interſected with ſtrait roads, forty feet wide, and planted on both ſides with hedges of citron-trees, thick enough to ſerve as a fence againſt the beaſts. There are long avenues of

tall

tall trees leading up to ſeveral habitations. It were to be wiſhed ſuch as theſe had been planted along the roads; for they would not only have been ornamental, but would alſo have afforded a delightful ſhade for travellers, and prevented that ſcarcity of wood which is already complained of. Though the French had long been ſenſible of the value of this ſoil, which is rich and fruitful beyond deſcription, they did not ſet about cultivating it till the year 1670, when they had nothing to apprehend from the inroads of the Spaniards, who till then had continued in that neighbourhood with a conſiderable force. The method that was taken of bringing thither the inhabitants of Santa Cruz and St. Chriſtopher's, haſtened the progreſs of this ſettlement. It now produces the greateſt quantity of ſugar of any place in the world.

The plain, which is bounded to the north only by the ſea, is terminated to the ſouth by a ridge of mountains, which varies in depth from four to eight leagues. Few of them are very high; ſeveral of them may be cultivated to the very ſummit, and they are all interſected at intervals with exceeding fine plantations of coffee and indigo. In theſe delightful vales, all the ſweets of ſpring are enjoyed, without either winter or ſummer. There are but two ſeaſons in the year, and they are equally fine. The ground, always laden with fruits and covered with flowers, realizes the delights and riches of poetical deſcriptions. Wherever we turn our eyes we are enchanted with a variety of objects, coloured and reflected by the cleareſt light.

BOOK XIII.

The air is temperate in the day-time; and the nights are conſtantly cool. The inhabitants of the plain, upon which the ſun darts his moſt powerful rays, repair to theſe mountains to breathe a cooler air, and allay their thirſt with wholeſome water. Happy the mortal who firſt taught the French to ſettle on this delicious ſpot!

THIS man was one of thoſe whom the ſpirit of intoleration in religious matters began to drive out from their native country. A Calviniſt, named Gobin, went and reared the firſt habitation at this cape. More houſes were built as the grounds were cleared. This ſettlement had already made ſuch progreſs in the compaſs of five and twenty years, as to excite the jealouſy of the Engliſh. They joined their forces with thoſe of Spain, and, attacking it both by land and ſea, in 1695, they took, plundered, and reduced it to aſhes.

A GREAT advantage might have been made of this misfortune. Intereſt, which is the primary founder of all colonies, had induced the inhabitants to chuſe in a harbour that is three leagues in circumference, the foot of a hill for the portion of the cape, becauſe it was the place that lay moſt convenient for the anchorage. This ſituation, however, being unwholeſome, ſhould have induced the coloniſts to ſettle ſomewhere elſe. This circumſtance they did not attend to, but rebuilt their town where it never ought to be built at all, in a bottom, in which the rays of the ſun are rendered more ſcorching by the reflection of the mountains; and the wind can only come from the coaſt over the marſhes. Yet ſuch is the richneſs of the

the adjacent country, that the town has always proſpered, and increaſed in buildings more and more pleaſant and beautiful.

THE cape is now cut by twenty-nine ſtrait ſtreets, into 226 cluſters of houſes, which amount to 810; but theſe ſtreets are too narrow, and having no ſlope, are always dirty; for, as they are paved only in the middle, the kennels, which are not even on each ſide, gather into puddles and common ſhores, inſtead of draining off the waters.

SEVERAL ſquares have been planned in this city. That of Notre Dame, though an old one, is hardly levelled. It is a long ſquare, with a fountain in the middle, which is often dry, for want of being properly ſupplied. A church has been begun ſome years ſince; but its immenſe ſize, the want of money, and the tedious importation of ſtone from Europe, makes the work go on very ſlowly. The ſquare of Clugny, which is a regular one, was built from neceſſity, to remove an offenſive moraſs; and the drying it up muſt certainly contribute to the wholeſomeneſs of the air. The governor's houſe, the barracks, and a royal magazine, are the only public buildings that attract the notice of the curious; but the humane obſerver cannot avoid beholding with pleaſure thoſe foundations that are called the houſes of Providence. Moſt of the French, who firſt come into the colony, are deſtitute of reſources and talents, and before they have acquired induſtry to procure ſubſiſtence, become ſubject to diſorders that are often fatal. At the cape theſe helpleſs diſtreſſed men are taken into two habitations, where the

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the men and the women are ſeverally provided with every thing they want till they can get employed. It is a diſgrace that ſuch an excellent inſtitution has not been imitated in other places; a neglect equally repugnant to humanity and good policy.

It would be for the intereſt of trade to erect in all colonies ſuch hoſpitable houſes as thoſe of St. Domingo. Theſe may be ſaid to be truly pious and divine inſtitutions, as they are calculated for the preſervation of mankind. Whether it is owing to this precaution or other circumſtances, certain it is, that fewer in proportion die at the cape, than in the other towns along the ſea-coaſt. The care that has been taken to purify the air by draining the fens, the thorough clearing of the hills, the proximity of a plain almoſt completely cultivated, all theſe circumſtances have concurred to correct the noxious influence of an unhealthy ſituation.

The harbour of the cape deſerves to receive the rich produce of all the adjacent country; and it is admirably well adapted to admit the ſhips that come from Europe. The air is the beſt in all the iſland. It lies open to none but the north-eaſt wind, and cannot even be hurt by this, the entrance being full of reefs, which break the violence of the waves. A ſhip gets out very eaſily, and ſoon launches into the open ſea.

Fourteen leagues to windward of the cape is Fort Dauphin. It was formerly a town, which was called Bayaha; but, ſince it has been removed nearer

nearer to the ſea, has changed both its name and place. The new town lies in the inmoſt center of a ſpacious harbour, which has only one outlet, formed by a channel, 1500 toiſes long, and about 100 broad. It is ſurrounded by a river to the weſt, and terminated by the ſea ſhore on the eaſt. The fort ſtands on a very ſmall peninſula to the north; and on the ſouthern ſide is the plain. The town contains as yet but ſeventy houſes. It is at a ſufficient diſtance from the mountains, to be out of the reach of any hill that might reflect the heat; but ſome fens in the neighbourhood render the air unwholeſome. The fortifications are ſufficient to keep a ſquadron at bay for two or three days.

THOUGH this is ſuch a fine and ſafe harbour, the major part of the produce of its own plain is ſtill ſent to the Cape. The maſs of trade will always attract the leſs branches; and great ſea-ports will occaſion the ſmaller to be neglected, and to decline.

Produce and population of the colony.

IN 1720, the commodities of the whole colony of St. Domingo amounted only to 1,200,000 pounds weight of indigo, 1,400,000 of white ſugar, and 21,000,000 of raw ſugar. The plantations were extended; and in 1734, thoſe of cotton and coffee were added. In 1754, the commodities of the colony were ſold upon the ſpot for 28,833,581 livres *. It is true they received from the mother country to the amount of 40,628,780 livres † value of merchandiſe. But if the colony became indebted, it was only to haſten its proſperity. The population

* 1,261,469l. 3s. 4d. † 1,777,509l. 2s. 6d.

population of whites amounted then to 7758 men, capable of bearing arms; to 2525 women, either widows or married; to 781 young marriageable perſons; to 1691 boys, and 1503 girls, under twelve years of age. Among the blacks, or free mullattoes, were reckoned 1362 men fit to bear arms; 1626 widows, or married women; 1009 boys, and 864 girls, under twelve years of age. The manufactures were peopled with 79,785 negroes; 53,817 negro women; 20,158 negro boys, and 18,428 negro girls. Of raw ſugar they worked 344 plantations, and 255 white ſugar; 3379 of indigo; and there were cultivated 98,946 cocoa trees; 6,300,367 cotton plants; and 21,053,842 caſſia trees. The proviſions of the colony were 5,520,503 banana trees; 1,201,849 plots of potatoes; 226,098 plots of yams; and 2,830,586 trenches of manior. The cattle did not exceed 63,454 horſes and mules, and 92,946 heads of horned cattle.

In 1764, St. Domingo had 8,786 white men able to bear arms; of which, 4,306 lived in the north, 3,470 in the weſt, and only 1,010 in the ſouth. Theſe forces were increaſed by 4,114 mulattoes, or free negroes, who were enrolled. Of theſe there were 497 to the ſouth, 2,250 to the weſt, and 1370 to the north.

The number of ſlaves was 206,000, men, women and children, parcelled out as follows: 12,000 in nine cities, ſome artificers, and ſome employed in domeſtic ſervices; 4000 employed in the ſmaller towns, in the tile and brick-kilns, pot-houſes, lime-kilns,

kilns, and other neceſſary handicrafts; 1000 deſtined to the cultivation of proviſions and kitchen grounds; and 180,000 reſerved for the care of commodities for exportation. Since this eſtimate was made, about 15,000 negroes have been brought annually into the colony. Theſe have not ſupplied the place of the dead, for that vacancy was more than filled up by ſlaves ſmuggled into the iſland; nor have they been employed as ſervants in the cities, where a leſs number is kept than formerly. Theſe freſh negroes were all able-bodied men, and have been employed in the labours of the plantations, which they muſt have greatly improved. Neither have the plantations received any injury by the ſubſtituting of ſome articles in lieu of others.

Instead of indigo, which began to yield but little on ſome grounds that were too much exhauſted, forty new ſugar plantations have been formed. There are now 260 to the north, 197 to the weſt, and 84 to the ſouth. The refining works have been increaſed in ſtill greater proportion than the plantations; and the quantity of white ſugar is almoſt doubled. Cotton has increaſed greatly in the valleys to the weſt, and coffee prodigiouſly in thoſe to the north. Some plantations of cocoa have been even formed in the woods of the great bay. Peace has reſtored the old branches of trade, and opened new ones. Under her protection every thing proſpers; and ſhe conſtitutes the felicity of both worlds.

We may affirm, from undoubted authority, that in the courſe of the year 1767, there have been exported from this colony no leſs than 72,718,781 pounds weight of raw ſugar; 51,562,013 pounds of white ſugar; 1,769,562 pounds of indigo; 150,000 pounds of cocoa; 12,197,977 pounds of coffee; 2,965,920 pounds of cotton; 8,470 parcels of hides in the hair; 10,350 tanned hides; 4,108 caſks of rum; and 21,104 caſks of molaſſes.

This is the ſum total of the productions entered at the cuſtom-houſes of St. Domingo, in 1767, and exported on board 347 ſhips ſent from France. The goods taken in under ſail, the overplus of the weight delivered in the payment of the ſmuggled blacks, cannot have carried away leſs than a ſixth part of the produce of the colony, which muſt be added to the known eſtimate of her wealth. Since that period all the plantations are increaſed, thoſe of coffee trebled.

Opinions differ as to the increaſe it is ſtill capable of attaining. Some think it may be doubled; others rate it only at one third. All agree that the culture will ſtill admit of great improvements, which may be expected from the activity of the nation that is poſſeſſed of ſo improveable a ſoil. But can ſhe hope to reap the fruits of her labours? Is it certain that ſhe will always preſerve the property of them? Theſe two queſtions deſerve a ſerious diſcuſſion.

Trade of the French of St. Domingo with the Spaniards ſettled in the ſame iſland.

THE trade which the French of St. Domingo carry on with their indolent neighbours, is of more conſequence than it is generally thought to be. They ſupply them with ſtockings, hats, linnens, guns, hard-ware, and ſome wearing apparel; and receive in return, horſes, horned cattle both for ſlaughter and for labour, ſmoked beef and bacon, ſkins; and laſtly, twelve or fifteen hundred thouſand livres *, which the court of Madrid devotes annually to the maintenance of the governor, the clergy, and the troops in the firſt ſettlement the Spaniards ever made in the new world. Excepting ſome few Portugal pieces which retain a nominal value, far above their intrinſic worth, they have no coin but what they draw from their neighbours the Spaniards. Revolutions only, which it is impoſſible to foreſee, can ever put a ſtop to this intercourſe between the two nations that divide St. Domingo, and which is carried on both by land and ſea. Here mutual wants prevail over natural antipathy; or elſe the uniformity of climate ſtifles theſe ſeeds of diviſion.

In what manner the colony can inſure the continuance of its connections with Europe.

IT were to be wiſhed that the French coloniſts were as certain of always keeping up their connections with Europe. Had the firſt adventurers who went over to St. Domingo been in a condition to think of plantations, they would, doubtleſs, have ſeized upon that part of the iſland which lies moſt to windward; which they might eaſily have done. The plains on that ſide are large and fertile; the land lies quite open to the ocean; the coaſts are ſafe;

* About 59,000l. on an average.

ſafe; the harbours may be entered as ſoon as diſcovered, and one loſes ſight of them the very day one ſails out. The track is ſuch, that no enemy can form any ambuſcade; the coaſt is unfit for cruiſing; theſe latitudes are convenient for the Europeans, and the paſſage expeditious. But as the ſcheme of the firſt French navigators was to attack the Spaniſh ſhips, and to carry on their hoſtilities on the gulph of Mexico, the poſſeſſions they occupied in St. Domingo were ſurrounded by Cuba, Jamaica, the Turks; by Tortuga, the Caicos, Gouava, and Lucayos iſlands, where the roads lie concealed, and are the lurking places of the privateers. They are alſo ſurrounded by a multitude of ſand-banks and rocks, which make the progreſs of a ſhip ſlow and uncertain; and by narrow ſeas, which muſt give a great advantage to the enemy, either for landing, for blocking up, or for cruiſing.

AGAINST ſo many dangers, no effectual remedy will ever be diſcovered, but a ſquadron conſtantly kept there in time of war, and always in motion. Whether it has been owing to inability in the government to afford this kind of protection to the colony, or to the negligence of the admirals, who have lain by inactive in the harbour with their armed veſſels; certain it is, that hitherto the only plan of defence which could ſecure the trade of St. Domingo, has never been purſued.

IF the miniſtry and the navy ſhould alter their principles and their conduct, the firſt thing to be done will be to protect the latitudes about the cape,

where the navigators coming from France always enter in time of war, and generally too in time of peace. The neceſſity of reconnoitring the promontory of la Grange, ſituated ten leagues higher up, brings thither ſwarms of privateers, who are ſeldom diſappointed. Two well-armed veſſels ſtationed there, would eaſily make themſelves maſters of that cruize. If, contrary to all expectation, the enemy ſhould bring a ſuperior force, no doubt they would be obliged to yield to them; but it would probably be only for a ſhort time.

HAVING thus facilitated the entrance of ſhips to the Cape, the next thing would be to ſecure their going out; which might be effected in the following manner. One of the two men of war, which ſhould always be ſtationed in the harbour, would take ſeveral merchant-men under her convoy, ſee them ſafe out, and return within three or four days at furtheſt. She would ſeldom be in any danger, becauſe ſhips of the line are hardly ever ſeen in thoſe parts; nor could they be there without being obſerved.

WHILE one part of the ſquadron was employed in protecting the navigation of the north; the other, and moſt conſiderable part, would cover the other coaſts of the colony. This would have its chief ſtation at Port-au-prince. Two of its veſſels might ſail from thence to the Mole St. Nicholas, as dangerous a place for ſhips going from the cape to the weſt and ſouth, as la Grange for thoſe that want to land at the cape. They ſhould never paſs the point of the Mole; the forces ſtationed to the

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northward ſhould endeavour to ſcour the ſea as far as that place; which is the more important, as all the armaments from New England going to Jamaica muſt be intercepted at this paſſage they are obliged to make. The ſquadron of Port-au-prince ſhould further be commiſſioned to ſhew itſelf now and then to the ſouthward of the iſland, to protect its own latitudes, and to convoy all homeward-bound ſhips till they were got clear of the iſland. It might even occaſionally go and cruize upon Jamaica when it could be ſpared.

HAVING thus provided for the ſecurity of the produce of the colony from the attempts of the enemy; it is incumbent on the mother-country to take the neceſſary meaſures for preſerving ſo valuable a property.

To put an end to the diſputes ſubſiſting between the French and Spaniards at St. Domingo, it would be neceſſary to fix the limits of both colonies.

IN former times, the Spaniards, who ſtill occupy half the iſland, were formidable rivals. As ſoon as the French had made their appearance at St. Domingo, warm conteſts aroſe between the two nations. A few private and inſignificant men ventured to go to war with a people armed under a regular authority. Theſe men were acknowledged by their country as ſoon as they were thought ſtrong enough to maintain themſelves in their uſurpations. A commander was ſent to them, who bore the name of governor of Tortuga and St. Domingo; which title was afterwards changed to that of governor-general of the Caribbee iſlands. The brave man, who was firſt appointed to command thoſe intrepid adventurers, caught their ſpirit to ſuch a degree as to propoſe to his court the conqueſt

conqueſt of the whole iſland. He pledged his life for the ſucceſs of the undertaking, provided they would ſend him a ſquadron ſtrong enough to block up the harbour of the capital.

The miniſtry of Verſailles, neglecting a project which was in reality more practicable than it appeared to them at a diſtance, left the French expoſed to continual hoſtilities. Notwithſtanding this, they always repulſed them ſucceſsfully; and even carried devaſtation into the enemy's country; but thoſe animoſities kept up in their minds a ſpirit of robbery and plunder, indiſpoſed them for uſeful labours, and ſtopt the progreſs of agriculture, which ſhould be the ultimate end of every well-regulated colony, and the firſt object of every ſociety that is in the poſſeſſion of lands. The error which France had fallen into, in not ſeconding the ardour of the new coloniſts for the conqueſt of the whole iſland, had nearly occaſioned her the loſs of that part of which ſhe was already in poſſeſſion. While the French were engaged in carrying on the war of 1688, againſt all Europe, the Spaniards and the Engliſh, who both dreaded ſeeing them firmly eſtabliſhed at St. Domingo, united their forces to expel them. Their firſt attempts gave them reaſon to expect an entire ſucceſs; when they quarrelled with each other, and from that time became irreconcileable enemies. Ducaſſe, who managed the colony with much ſagacity and great reputation, took advantage of their diviſions to attack them ſucceſſively. He firſt invaded Jamaica, where he deſtroyed every thing with fire

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and ſword. From thence he was preparing to turn his arms againſt St. Domingo; and would infallibly have reduced the whole iſland, had he not been ſtopped in this expedition by orders from his court.

THE houſe of Bourbon aſcended the throne of Spain, and the French nation loſt all hopes of conquering St. Domingo. Hoſtilities, which had not even been ſuſpended there by the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, and Ryſwick, ceaſed at laſt between people who could never be true friends to each other. The French ſettlements, and even the planters, recovered their tranquillity. For ſome time paſt, their ſlaves, taking advantage of the national diviſions, had ſhaken off their chains, and removed into a diſtrict where they found freedom and no labour. This deſertion, which muſt naturally have increaſed, was abated, by the Spaniards entering into a contract to bring home the fugitives to their neighbours, for the ſum of 250 livres * a head. Although this agreement was not very ſcrupulouſly obſerved, it proved a powerful check till the diſſentions that divided the two nations in 1718. At this period the negroes deſerted their works in multitudes. This loſs induced the French to think of reviving their old project of expelling totally from the iſland ſuch neighbours, who were equally dangerous from their indolence, as from their turbulent ſpirit. The war did not laſt long enough to bring about this

* 10l. 18s. 9d.

this revolution. At the concluſion of the peace, Philip V. gave orders for the reſtitution of all the fugitives that could be found. They were juſt embarked, to be ſent to their old maſters, when the people roſe and reſcued them; an act which we could hardly diſapprove, had they been prompted to it by humanity, rather than by national hatred. It will always be pleaſing to ſee people excited to rebellion on account of the ſlavery of the miſerable negroes. Thoſe who were reſcued on this occaſion, fled into inacceſſible mountains, where they have ſince multiplied to ſuch a degree, as to be able to afford a ſafe retreat to all the ſlaves that can find means to join them. There, in conſequence of the cruelty of civilized nations, they become as free and as ſavage as tigers; in expectation, perhaps, of a chief and a conqueror, who may reſtore the violated rights of mankind, by ſeizing upon an iſland which ſeems to have been intended for the ſlaves who till the ground, and not for the tyrants who water it with the blood of thoſe victims.

The preſent ſyſtem of politics will not allow France and Spain to be at war with each other. Should any event occaſion a rupture between the two nations, notwithſtanding the compact between the two crowns, it would probably be but a tranſient quarrel, that would not allow time for projecting conqueſts which muſt ſoon be reſtored. The enterpriſes on both ſides would, therefore, be confined to ravaging the country; and in this caſe the nation that does not cultivate, at leaſt at

St. Domingo, would prove formidable, by its very poverty, to that which has already made ſome progreſs in the culture of its lands. A Caſtilian governor was ſo ſenſible of this, that he once wrote to the French commandant, that, if he forced him to an invaſion, he would deſtroy more in the compaſs of one league, than the French could, if they were to lay waſte all the country he commanded.

HENCE it is demonſtrable, that, if a war ſhould break out in Europe between theſe two powers, the moſt active of them ought to ſue for a neutrality in favour of this iſland. Perhaps, it would be for the intereſt of both, that it ſhould be totally in the hands of the moſt laborious. But even though the court of Madrid ſhould reſolve to relinquiſh a territory which is rather a burthen to Spain, there are ſtill many difficulties remaining. Great-Britain, who is now miſtreſs of the fate of America, would hardly conſent to ſuch an acceſſion of wealth to her rival.

A MORE natural ſcheme, and which ought to meet with no obſtacle, would be to fix the boundaries of the two nations that ſhare St. Domingo. This arrangement ought to have taken place on the acceſſion of Philip V. to the throne; an event which gave the French poſſeſſions a degree of ſtability and legal right they never had before. It might have been expected, that the nation which gave the other a king, ſhould have ſtipulated that all the territory lying between the coaſts they inhabited to the north and ſouth, ſhould remain under their dominion. More powerful intereſts

then claimed the attention of both parties; and this diſcuſſion was reſerved for another period, which is never come. Not a ſingle conference has ever been attempted to ſettle this difficulty. This neglect has been the occaſion of much bloodſhed among the inhabitants. This ſource of rage and diſcord has filled every breaſt; and at laſt, in 1730, both nations took up arms to deſtroy each other. The principal people of both colonies ſucceeded at that time in putting a ſtop to this diſſenſion, by a proviſional convention; but the ſucceſſors of thoſe able and moderate men may not always have the ſame authority, or the ſame good fortune. The moſt effectual method would be to put an end for ever to this inteſtine war, by legally authenticating the reſpective property of both parties.

To effect this with regularity and juſtice, it would be proper to go as far back as the year 1700. At this period, both nations being upon friendly terms, remained the juſt owners of the lands they then poſſeſſed. The encroachments made during the courſe of this century, by the ſubjects of one of the crowns, are the incroachments of individuals upon each other; they are not become lawful poſſeſſions by being tolerated; and the rights of both powers are ſtill the ſame, ſince they have not been abrogated, directly or indirectly, by any convention.

But it is certain, from inconteſtable facts, that, in the beginning of this century, the French poſſeſſions, which are now bounded on the northern

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coaſt by the river of Maſſacre, extended then to the river Yague. Thoſe of the ſouthern coaſt, which had been carried on as far as the point of Cape Beata, have been contracted, in proceſs of time, to the inlet of Pitre. This revolution has been inſenſibly brought about, and is the natural conſequence of the œconomical ſyſtem of the two neighbouring nations. The one which has applied itſelf chiefly to agriculture, has collected all its poſſeſſions towards the moſt frequented ports, where the produce might be moſt readily diſpoſed of. The other, whoſe ſubjects were ſhepherds rather than planters, wanting more room for the breeding of cattle, have ſeized upon all the forſaken lands. The paſtures have naturally been enlarged, and the fields contracted, or at leaſt brought cloſer together. But it is not reaſonable that the moſt induſtrious nation, that which does moſt good to the ground by improving it, ſhould be plundered by the other, which only wanders about and conſumes without propagating.

It would not be ſo eaſy to fix the boundaries of the French in the inland parts; the frequent and daily revolutions that have happened there, having occaſioned much uncertainty and confuſion. The two colonies are at preſent ſeparated by the mountains of Ouanaminthe, of the Trou, of the great river, of the Artibonite, and of the Mirebalai. By this barrier, the French are confined every where, excepting at the points of Mole St. Nicholas and Cape Tiburon, to a narrow tract, which extends no-where more than nine leagues and a half; and

in

in ſome places not above ſix leagues at moſt. This territory forms a kind of creſcent, whoſe convexity takes-in 250 leagues of ſea-coaſt, to the north, weſt and ſouth. But theſe limits cannot ſubſiſt, for a reaſon which muſt prevail over all other conſiderations.

THE French ſettlements to the north, are divided from thoſe to the weſt and ſouth by inacceſſible mountains. The impoſſibility of ſuccouring them expoſes them to the invaſion of a power which is equally an enemy to both nations. The common danger, which creates a kind of reciprocal intereſt, ſhould engage the court of Madrid to ſettle the limits in ſuch a manner, that her ally may find the aſſiſtance ſhe may want for her defence. The land that ſhould be given up is rugged, a very indifferent ſoil, and at a great diſtance from the ſea. The proprietors of theſe lands, which are, indeed, uncultivated, but covered with flocks, ſhould be indemnified by France, with a generoſity which ſhould leave them no room to regret what they had loſt.

Meaſures which ought to be taken by France, to protect this colony from foreign invaſions.

WHEN the poſſeſſions of the colony are thus connected and ſupported internally, by an uninterrupted chain of communication, they muſt be fortified againſt the attacks of the only enemy that is truly formidable, the Engliſh. If they mean to attack St. Domingo by the weſt or ſouth, they will collect their forces at Jamaica; if by the north, they will make their preparations at Barbadoes, or ſome other of the windward iſlands, from whence they may reach the Cape in ſeven or eight days; whereas

whereas it would take five or ſix weeks to come to that port from Jamaica.

THE weſt and ſouth are incapable of being defended. The immenſe extent of the tract renders it impoſſible to maintain any connection or regularity in the motions of the troops. If they are diſperſed, they become uſeleſs by being thus divided; if they are collected for the defence of ſuch poſts as are moſt liable to be attacked, from the natural weakneſs of their poſition, they would be in danger of being all loſt together. Large battalions would only be burdenſome to ſuch extenſive coaſts, which preſent too much flank or too much front to the enemy. It will only be neceſſary to erect, or keep up, batteries to protect the roads, the merchant-ſhips, and the coaſting-trade; to keep off privateers, and even to prevent the landing of a man of war or two, that might come to ravage the coaſt, and levy contributions. The light troops, which are ſufficient to ſupport theſe batteries, will give ground in proportion to the advances of the enemy, and only take care to avoid ſurrendering till they are in danger.

BUT it is not neceſſary to relinquiſh every kind of defence. At the back of each coaſt, there ſhould be a place for ſhelter and for reinforcements; always open for retreat, out of the enemy's reach, ſafe from inſults, and able to reſiſt their attack. This ſhould be a narrow paſs, capable of being intrenched, and of defending the troops to advantage. Such is that of la Gaſcogne, on the weſtern coaſt. It has every natural advantage of ſituation, with

with this only inconvenience, that it is not placed in the center between all the quarters. The general rendezvous for the ſouth, eſtabliſhed on the habitation called Perrein, at the diſtance of 10,000 toiſes from the Cayes, is a retreat capable of making a very great reſiſtance. In the center of all motions of retreat, it comprehends all that can be wiſhed for as a defence. Nature has provided it with a narrow paſs, and at the ſame time covered its flanks, and left an opening at the back; which, while it ſhuts up every avenue againſt an enemy, ſecures to thoſe who defend it, a communication with the interior parts of the colony.

From theſe impregnable retreats, the conqueror may continually be harraſſed; who, having no ſtrong hold, will be perpetually expoſed to a ſurpriſe. Theſe alarms would be doubled, if a few ſquadrons of light horſe were eſtabliſhed there, which might be procured at a ſmall expence. The Spaniards of St. Domingo ſell Andaluſian horſes at a moderate price; which are very tractable, and yet full of ſpirit, are unſhod, and feed all the year round in the meadows, where they ſleep in open air. Theſe are excellent for ſkirmiſhes, and will afford ſufficient time to wait for ſuccours, which may be brought up at any time from the north. The troops employed in this ſervice may, if wanted, defend the other part of the colony which can only be attacked by ſea.

All thoſe who are acquainted with the iſland of St. Domingo, know, that the French ſettlements make as it were two diſtinct colonies, one to the

the ſouth and weſt, and the other to the north; which have no real and beneficial communication with the continent. So that, even ſuppoſing the Engliſh were ſufficiently ſtrong, had gained a firm eſtabliſhment in the weſt and ſouth, they never could penetrate to the north by land. Should they attempt it, it muſt be by that narrow tract which joins the French poſſeſſions on the weſt and north, at Cape St. Nicholas, or elſe by croſſing the Spaniſh territories; both which are impracticable.

THE firſt is a barren deſert, ſo full of foreſts, paſſes, and precipices, that a man on foot cannot get through but with much time and extreme labour. The other way is little better. It lies acroſs the Spaniſh mountains, which are high, barren, and craggy; and whoever ſhould attempt to paſs them, muſt expect to be harraſſed. The northern coaſt, therefore, being inacceſſible by land, can only be attacked by ſea. As it is richer, more populous, and leſs extenſive than the other two, it is more adapted to ſupport a land war, and to make a regular defence.

THE ſea-ſide, which is more or leſs full of reefs, affords in many places a ſwampy ground; and the mangroves which cover theſe marſhes, make them quite impenetrable. This natural defence is not ſo common as it was, ſince many of theſe coppices have been cut away. But the landing-places, which are commonly no better than gaps, flanked by theſe woods overflowed with water, require but a moderate front to ſtop them up. Magazines, and other ſtone buildings, are common there; they furniſh

niſh poſts for the erection of battlements, and ſecure the placing of ſome maſked batteries.

This firſt line of the ſhore ſeems to promiſe, that a coaſt of eighteen leagues, ſo well defended by nature, would, when ſeconded by the valour of the French, put the enemy in danger of being beaten the moment they ſhould land. If their ſchemes were diſcovered, or if the diſpoſitions they were making at ſea ſhould, from a diſtance, point out the place of their landing, the forces might repair thither and prevent it. But experience ſhews the infallible advantage of ſquadrons at anchor.

It is not only by the firing of broadſides from the ſhips to cover the approach of boats, it is by the impoſſibility there is of guarding every part of the coaſt, that a ſquadron at anchor can eaſily effect landing, as it is a conſtant check to ſo many places at once. Land forces move very ſlowly about the windings of the coaſt, while the boats and ſloops arrive ſpeedily by a ſhorter way. The aſſailer follows the ſtring, while the other muſt go all along the bow. Diſappointed and wearied out with a variety of motions, the latter is not leſs apprehenſive of thoſe he ſees in the day-time, than of the manœuvres of the night which he cannot ſee.

In order to be able to oppoſe a deſcent, the firſt thing to be done is to ſuppoſe it actually accompliſhed; all our courage and ſtrength is then exerted in taking advantage of the delays or miſtakes of the enemy. As ſoon as they are obſerved at ſea;

ſea, they may immediately be expected on land. A large ſhore, on which a landing may be effected, will always leave the plain of the Cape open to invaſion; ſo that the chief attention muſt be directed, not to the ſea-ſhore, but to the inland parts.

THE inland parts are in general covered with ſugar-canes, which being more or leſs high, according to their degree of maturity, ſucceſſively make the fields appear ſo many thickets. Theſe are occaſionally ſet on fire, either to cover a march, or to retard the enemy's purſuit, to deceive or aſtoniſh him. In two hours time, inſtead of fields covered with crops, nothing is to be ſeen but an immenſe waſte, covered with ſtubble.

THE partitions of the cane grounds, the ſavannahs, and the ſtorehouſes for proviſions, do not obſtruct the motions of an army more than our meadows. Inſtead of our villages, they have their habitations, which are not ſo full of people, but are more numerous. The thick and ſtrait hedges of citron-trees are cloſer and more impenetrable than the fences that incloſe our fields. This is what conſtitutes the greateſt difference in the view of the fields of America and thoſe of Europe.

A SMALL number of rivers, ſome hollow-ways, very low hillocks, a ſoil generally even, ſome dikes conſtructed againſt inundations, few ditches, if any, one or two foreſts not very thick ſet with trees, a ſmall number of moraſſes, a ground that is overflowed in a ſtorm, and grows duſty again with twelve hours ſunſhine, rivers that are full one day and dried up the next; theſe are the general appearances

appearances of the plain of the Cape. This diverſity muſt afford advantageous encampments, and it muſt ever be remembered, that in a defenſive war, the poſt one removes to cannot be too near the one that is quitted.

It is not the province of a writer to preſcribe rules to military men. Cæſar himſelf has told us what he has done, not what we are to do. Topographical deſcriptions, determining the goodneſs of ſuch or ſuch a poſt, the combination of marches, the art of encampments and retreats, the moſt learned theory; all theſe muſt be ſubmitted to the eye of the general, who, with the principles in his mind, and the materials in his hand, applies both to the circumſtances of time and place, as they chance to occur. The military genius, though mathematical, is dependent on fortune, which ſuits the order of the operations to the diverſity of appearances. Rules are liable to numberleſs exceptions, which muſt be diſcovered in the inſtant. The very execution almoſt always alters the plan, and diſcompoſes the ſyſtem of an action. The courage or timidity of the troops, the raſhneſs of the enemy, the caſual ſucceſs of his meaſures, an accidental combat, an unforeſeen event, a ſtorm that ſwells a torrent, a high wind that conceals a ſnare or an ambuſcade under clouds of duſt, thunder that frightens the horſes, or is confounded with the report of the cannon, the temperature of the air, which conſtantly influences the ſpirits of the commander and the blood of the ſoldiers: all theſe are ſo many natural or moral cauſes, which, by their uncertainty, may overturn the beſt-concerted projects.

WHATEVER place is made choice of for a deſcent at St. Domingo, the town of the cape will always be the object of it. The landing will be ſomewhere in the bay of the Cape, where the ſhips will be ready to augment the land-forces with two thirds of their crews, and to furniſh them with artillery, ammunition, and whatever they may want for the ſiege of that opulent fortreſs. It is towards this bulwark of the colony that all endeavours to keep off the aſſailer muſt be directed. The choice of advantageous poſitions will in ſome meaſure compenſate for the inequality of numbers. At the moment of landing, the ground muſt be diſputed by ſupporting a kind of falſe attack, without engaging the whole of the troops. Theſe muſt be poſted in ſuch a manner as to ſecure two retreats, the one towards the Cape, to form the garriſon of that place, the other in the narrow paſſes of the mountains, where they will keep an intrenched camp, from whence they may annoy the beſiegers, and retard the taking of the place. Should the place ſurrender, as it would be an eaſy matter to favour the evaſion of the troops when they evacuate it, the conqueſt would not yet be completed. The mountains in which they would take refuge, inacceſſible to an army, ſurround the plain with a double or treble chain, and guard the inhabited parts, by very narrow paſſes, which may be eaſily defended. The principal of theſe is the defile of the great river, where the enemy would find two or three paſſes of the river, that reach from one moun-

tain to the other. In this place four or five hundred men would ſtop the moſt numerous army, by only ſinking the bed of the waters. This reſiſtance might be ſeconded by 25,000 inhabitants, both white and black, who are ſettled in theſe vallies. As the white men are more numerous here than upon the richer lands, and their crops are ſmaller, they cannot afford to conſume any great quantity of the produce of Europe, ſo that what they cultivate is chiefly for their own ſubſiſtence; from this they might eaſily ſupply the troops that ſhould defend their country. Any deficiency in the article of freſh meat could be made up by the Spaniards, who breed vaſt quantities of cattle on the backs of theſe mountains.

After all, it may happen that the firmneſs of the troops may be ſunk under the want of proviſions or warlike ſtores, and they may be either forced or turned back. This ſuggeſted the idea ſome years ago at Verſailles, of building a fortified town in the center of the mountains. Marſhal Noailles was a warm advocate for this ſcheme. It was then imagined, that by means of ſome redoubts of earth ſcattered upon different parts of the coaſt, the enemy might be inticed by regular attacks, and inſenſibly exhauſted by the loſs of a great number of men, in a climate where ſickneſs ſuddenly proves more deſtructive than the ſword. It was ſuggeſted that no more ſtrong holds ſhould be erected on the frontiers, where they lie expoſed to the invaſion of the maſters of the ſea; becauſe,

while they are unable to defend their own habitations, they become ſo many bulwarks for the conquerors, who can eaſily take and guard them with their ſhips, and depoſe or draw from thence arms and men to intimidate the vanquiſhed. An entirely open country was better, in their opinion, for a power that has no maritime ſtrength, than forces diſperſed and forſaken upon ſhores, waſted and depopulated by the inclemency of the climate.

It was in the center of the iſland that the ſtrongeſt place of defence was expected to be made. A road of twenty or thirty leagues, full of obſtacles; where every march muſt be attended with ſeveral engagements, in which the advantage of the poſts would render a detachment formidable to a whole army; where the removing of the artillery would be tedious and laborious; where the difficulty of convoys, and the diſtance of communication with the ocean; where every thing, in ſhort, would conſpire to deſtroy the enemy: ſuch was to be, as it were, the glacis of the intended fortification. This capital was to ſtand upon high ground, where the air is more pure and temperate than in the plains beneath; in the midſt of a country which would ſupply the town with neceſſaries, particularly rice; ſurrounded with flocks and herds, which, feeding upon a ſoil moſt favourable to their increaſe, would be reſerved for times of want; provided with ſtore-houſes proportioned to the town and garriſon: ſuch a city would have changed the colony into a kingdom,

kingdom, able to ſupport itſelf for a long time; whereas its preſent opulence does but weaken it, and having ſuperfluities without neceſſaries, it enriches a few proprietors, without affording them ſuſtenance.

If the enemy had made themſelves maſters of the ſea-coaſt, which would not be diſputed with them, and were deſirous of collecting the produce of the lands, they would ſtand in need of whole armies to keep merely upon the defenſive; for the continual excurſions from the center would not permit them to do more than this. The troops in the inland parts of the iſland, always ſure of a reſpectable retreat, might eaſily be relieved by recruits from Europe; which would find no difficulty in penetrating to the center of a circle of ſo immenſe a circumference; whereas all the Engliſh fleets would not be ſufficient to fill up the vacancies which the climate would be continually making in their garriſons.

Notwithstanding the evidence of theſe advantages, the project of a fortification in the mountains has been dropt, and a ſyſtem purſued, which would confine the whole defence of the iſland to the mole of St. Nicholas. This new plan could not fail of being applauded by the planters, who were not fond of citadels and garriſons near their plantations, as they are more injurious than they can poſſibly be beneficial to them. They are ſenſible, that the whole force being directed to one point, they ſhould have none but light troops left in their

neighbourhood on the three coaſts, which are ſufficient to drive away the privateers by the aſſiſtance of their batteries; and are, beſides, very convenient defenders, ever ready to yield without reſiſtance, and to diſperſe or capitulate on the leaſt intimation of an invaſion.

This plan, ſo favourable to private intereſt, has alſo met with the approbation of ſome perſons well verſed in military affairs. They were of opinion, that the few troops which the colony will admit of, being in a manner loſt in ſo large an iſland as St. Domingo, would make an appearance at the Mole. Bombardopolis is the place that has been choſen, as the moſt reſpectable poſt. This new city ſtands on the margin of a plain, which is ſufficiently elevated to render it cool and temperate. Its territory is covered with a natural ſavannah, and adorned with groves of palm-trees of various kinds. It is not overlooked; which is an uncommon circumſtance at St. Domingo. It might be made a regular fortification, and of any degree of ſtrength. If it did not prevent an invaſion, it would, at leaſt, prevent the conquerors from getting a firm eſtabliſhment upon the coaſts.

It were to be wiſhed, ſay the ſtateſmen, that, from the firſt moment the works had been begun at the Mole, it had at the ſame time been fortified to the degree that ſo advantageous a ſituation will admit of. It is a treaſure, the poſſeſſion of which ſhould have been ſecured as ſoon as it was diſcovered. Should this valuable key of St. Domingo,

mingo, and, indeed, of all America, fall into the hands of the Engliſh; which it may very poſſibly do on the breaking out of a war, which cannot be far off, this Gibraltar of America would be more fatal to France and Spain than even that of Europe.

It is no wonder, if all the precautions which have been taken hitherto for the defence of St. Domingo, have been conducted with ſo little judgment. As long as forecaſt and protection ſhall be confined to ſecondary means, which can only protract, not prevent, the conqueſt of this iſland, no invariable plan can be purſued. Fixed principles are the excluſive privilege of ſuch powers as can depend upon their naval force, to prevent the loſs of, or ſecure the recovery of, their colonies. Thoſe of France are not guarded by thoſe floating arſenals, which can at the ſame time attack and defend. Their mother country is not yet poſſeſſed of ſuch a navy as to render her formidable. But does ſhe at leaſt govern her poſſeſſions abroad by the maxims of ſound policy and good order? This is what we ſhall next inquire into.

Examination of the government eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands.

The Britiſh government, ever actuated by the national ſpirit, which ſeldom deviates from the true intereſts of the ſtate, has carried into the new world that right of property which is the ground-work of her legiſlation. From a conviction, that man never thinks he has the entire poſſeſſion of any thing but what he has lawfully acquired; they have, indeed, ſold the lands in the iſlands at a very moderate price to ſuch as were willing to

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clear them. This appeared the ſureſt way to haſten the cultivation of them; and to prevent partialities and jealouſies, the neceſſary conſequences of a diſtribution guided by caprice or favour.

Is the right of property reſpected in the French iſlands?

FRANCE has taken a method ſeemingly more generous, but not ſo prudent, that of granting lands to all who applied for them. No regard was paid to their abilities or circumſtances; the intereſt of their patrons determined the extent of the land they obtained. Indeed, it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould begin their ſettlements within a year after the grant, and not diſcontinue the clearing of the ground, upon pain of forfeiture. But, beſides the hardſhip of requiring thoſe men to be at the expence of clearing the land, who could not afford to purchaſe, the penalty fell upon them only, who not having the advantage of family and fortune, could not make intereſt with the great; or upon minors, who being left deſtitute by the death of their parents, ought rather to have been aſſiſted by the public; whereas every proprietor who was well recommended or ſupported, was not called to account, though he let his grounds lie fallow.

To this partiality, which evidently retarded the progreſs of the colonies, we may add a number of ill-judged regulations relative to domeſtic life. Firſt, it was required of every perſon who obtained a grant of land, to plant 500 trenches of manioc for every ſlave he had upon his plantation. This order was equally detrimental both to private and public intereſt, as it compelled the planter to encumber

cumber his ground with this ordinary production, when it was able to yield richer crops; and rendered the poor grounds, which were only fit for this kind of culture, uſeleſs. This double error could not but leſſen the growth of all kinds of commodities; and, indeed, this law, which laid a reſtraint upon the diſpoſal of property, has never been ſtrictly put in execution; but as it has alſo never been repealed, it ſtill remains a ſcourge in the hand of any ignorant, capricious, or paſſionate miniſter, who may chuſe to make uſe of it againſt the inhabitants. This evil, great as it is, is, however, the leaſt of thoſe they have to complain of from adminiſtration. The reſtraint of the Agrarian laws is ſtill increaſed by the burden of the labours impoſed upon the vaſſals.

THERE was a time in Europe, that of the feudal government, when gold and ſilver was little regarded in public or private tranſactions. The nobles ſerved the ſtate, not with their purſes, but with their perſons; and thoſe of their vaſſals, who were their property by right of conqueſt, paid them a kind of quit-rent or homage, either in the fruits of the earth, or in ſo much labour. Theſe cuſtoms, ſo deſtructive to men and lands, tended to perpetuate that barbarity to which they owed their riſe. But at length they were gradually laid aſide, as the authority of kings prevailed in overthrowing the independence and tyranny of the great, by reſtoring freedom to the people. The prince, now become the ſole maſter, aboliſhed, as a magiſtrate, ſome abuſes ariſing from the right of

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war, which deſtroys every other right. But ſeveral of theſe uſurpations, which time had conſecrated, were ſtill retained. That of the average, or a certain proportion of labour required of the vaſſals, has been kept up in ſome ſtates, where the nobles have loſt almoſt every advantage, though the people have not acquired any. The liberty of France is at this day infringed by this public bondage; and this injuſtice has been reduced into a ſyſtem, as if to give it a colour of juſtice. The conſequences of this horrid ſyſtem have been ſtill more ſeverely felt in the colonies. The culture of theſe lands, from the nature of the climate and of the productions, requiring expedition, cannot eaſily ſpare a number of hands to be ſent to a great diſtance, and employed in public works, which are often uſeleſs, and ſhould never be carried on but by idle hands. If the mother-country, with all the various means ſhe can employ, has never yet been able to correct or mitigate the hardſhips of theſe ſervices, ſhe ought to conſider what evils muſt reſult from them beyond the ſeas, where the direction of theſe works is committed to two overſeers, who can neither be directed, cenſured, nor controuled, in the arbitrary exerciſe of abſolute power. But the burden of theſe ſervices is light, when compared with that of the taxes.

Are the taxes properly levied in the French iſlands?

A TAX may be defined to be a contribution towards public expence, neceſſary for the preſervation of private property. The peaceable enjoyment of lands and revenues requires a proper

force to defend them from invaſion, and a police that ſecures the liberty of improving them. Whatever is paid towards the maintenance of public order, is right and juſt; whatever is levied beyond this, is extortion. Now, all the government expences which the mother-country is at for the colonies, are repaid her by the reſtraint laid upon them, to cultivate for her alone, and in ſuch a manner as is beſt adapted to her wants. This ſubjection is the moſt burdenſome of all tributes, and ought to exempt them from all other taxes,

Any one muſt be convinced of this truth, who reflects on the difference of ſituation between the old world and the new. In Europe, ſubſiſtence and home conſumption are the principal object of culture and of manufactures; exportation only carries off the overplus. In the iſlands, the whole is to be exported. There life and property are equally precarious.

In Europe, war only deprives the manufacturer and the huſbandman of the trade to foreign countries; they ſtill have their reſource in that which circulates in the internal part of the kingdom. In the iſlands, hoſtilities annihilate every thing; there are no more ſales, no more purchaſes, no more circulation; the planter hardly recovers his coſts.

In Europe, the owner of a ſmall eſtate, who is able to make only a few expences, improves his land as much in proportion as he that has a wide domain and immenſe treaſures. In the iſlands, the improvement of the ſmalleſt plantation requires a pretty good ſtock to begin with.

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In Europe, it is commonly one citizen that is indebted to another; and the ſtate is not impoveriſhed by theſe private debts. Thoſe of the iſlands are of a different nature. Many planters, in order to carry on the labour of clearing their grounds, and to repair the loſſes incurred by the misfortunes of war, which had put a ſtop to their exports, have been obliged to borrow ſuch large ſums, that they may be conſidered rather as farming the trade, than as proprietors of the plantations.

Whether theſe reflections have not occurred to the French miniſtry, or whether particular circumſtances have obliged them to depart from their plan; certain it is, they have added freſh taxes to the obligation already laid on the colonies to draw all their neceſſaries from France, and to ſend thither all their own commodities. Every negro has been taxed. In ſome ſettlements, this poll-tax has been confined to the working blacks; in others, it was laid on all the ſlaves without diſtinction. Both theſe arrangements have been oppoſed by the colony aſſembled at St. Domingo. Let us now judge of the force of their arguments.

Children, old and infirm men, make up about one third of the ſlaves. Far from being uſeful to the planter, ſome of them are only a burden, which humanity alone can prompt him to ſupport, while the reſt can afford him but diſtant and uncertain hopes. It is difficult to conceive how the treaſury ſhould have thought of taxing an object that is already chargeable to the owner.

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THE poll-tax upon blacks extends beyond the grave; that is to ſay, it is fixed upon a perſon who exiſts no more. If a ſlave ſhould die after the aſſeſſment has been made, the planter, who is already unhappy on account of the diminution of his income and of his capital, is ſtill obliged to pay a tax, which reminds him of his loſſes, and makes him feel them more ſenſibly.

EVEN the working ſlaves are not an exact tariff of the appraiſement of a planter's income. With a few negroes, a good ſoil will yield more than a poor one with a great number. The commodities are not all of the ſame value, though they are all procured by the labour of thoſe perſons upon whom the tax is equally laid. The changing from one kind of culture to another, which the ground requires, ſuſpends for a while the produce of labour. Droughts, inundations, fires, devouring inſects, often deſtroy the fruits of labour. Suppoſe all things alike, a leſs number of hands makes in proportion a leſs quantity of ſugar; either becauſe the whole of the wants muſt be taken into conſideration, or becauſe labour is truly advantageous ſo far only as the moſt favourable opportunities can be improved.

THE poll-tax upon blacks becomes ſtill more oppreſſive in time of war. A planter who cannot then diſpoſe of his commodities, and muſt run in debt to ſupport himſelf and to keep up his land, is further obliged to pay a tax for ſlaves whoſe labour will hardly be equivalent to their maintenance. Nay, he is often conſtrained to ſend them

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at a diſtance from his plantation for the imaginary wants of the colony, to ſupport them there at his own expence, and to ſee them periſh without any reaſon, while he is under the ſevere neceſſity of replacing them one time or other, if ever he means to retrieve his waſted and almoſt ruined lands.

The burden of the poll-tax was ſtill heavier upon ſuch of the proprietors as were abſent from the colony, for theſe were condemned to pay the tax treble; which was the more unjuſt, as it was matter of indifference to France whether her commodities were conſumed at home or in the iſlands. Could it be her intention to hinder the emigration of the coloniſts? But it is only by the mildneſs of the government that citizens can be induced to fix in a country, not by prohibitions and penalties. Beſides, men who by hazardous labours carried on in a ſultry climate, had contributed to the public proſperity, ought to have been indulged in the liberty of ending their days in the temperate regions of the mother-country. Nothing could more effectually rouze the ambition and activity of numbers of idle people, than to be ſpectators of their fortune; and the ſtate might thus be relieved of the load of theſe uſeleſs men, to the profit of induſtry and commerce.

Nothing can be more detrimental to both than this taxing of the blacks, as the neceſſity of ſelling obliges the planter to lower the price of his commodities. A moderate price may be an advantageous circumſtance, when it is the reſult of great plenty, and of a very quick circulation. But it is ruinous

ruinous to be obliged to loſe conſtantly upon one's merchandiſe, in order to pay taxes. The profits of trade are all abſorbed by the treaſury, which is continually receiving, without making any returns.

LASTLY, it is a very difficult matter to levy this tax. Every proprietor muſt give in an annual account of the number of his ſlaves. To prevent falſe entries, they muſt be verified by clerks, or exciſemen. Every negro that is not entered muſt be forfeited; which is a very abſurd practice, becauſe every labouring negro is ſo much ſtock, and by the forfeiture of him the culture is diminiſhed, and the very object for which the duty was laid, is annihilated. Thus it happens that in the colonies, where the ſucceſs of every thing depends upon the tranquillity which is enjoyed, a deſtructive war is carried on between the financier and the planter. Law-ſuits are numerous, removals frequent, rigorous meaſures become neceſſary, and the coſts are great and ruinous.

IF the negro-tax is unjuſt in its extent, unequal in its repartition, and complicate in the mode of levying it; the tax laid upon the commodities that are carried out of the colonies, is nearly as injudicious. The government ventured to impoſe this duty, from a perſuaſion that it would fall entirely upon the conſumer and the merchant; but there cannot be a more dangerous error in political œconomy than this is.

THE act of conſuming does not ſupply money to buy what is conſumed; this muſt be gained by labour; and all labour, if things are traced up to their

their origin, is, in fact, paid by the firſt proprietor out of the produce of the earth. This being the caſe, no one article can be always growing dearer, but all the reſt muſt riſe in proportion. In this ſituation, there is no profit to be made upon any of them. If this equilibrium between the articles of commerce be removed, the conſumption of the advanced article will decreaſe; and, if it decreaſe, the price will fall of courſe, and the dearneſs will have been only tranſient.

THE merchant can no more take the duty upon him, than the conſumer. He may, indeed, advance it once or twice; but if he cannot make a natural and neceſſary profit upon the commodities ſo taxed, he will ſoon diſcontinue that branch of trade. To hope that competition will force him to take the payment of the duty out of his profits, is to ſuppoſe that they were exorbitant; and that the competition, which was then inſufficient, will become more conſiderable when the profits are leſs. If, on the other hand, things were as they ought to be, and the profits no more than neceſſary, it is ſuppoſing that the competition will ſubſiſt, though the profits that gave riſe to it ſubſiſt no longer. We muſt admit all theſe abſurdities, or allow that it is the planter in the iſlands who pays the duty, whether it be levied from the firſt, ſecond, or hundredth hand.

FAR from thus burthening the cultivation of the colonies with taxes, it ought to be encouraged by liberalities; ſince by the ſtate of reſtraint in which trade is kept, theſe liberalities, with all

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the advantages arifing from them, muſt neceſſarily return to the mother-country.

If the ſituation of a ſtate, that is in arrears on account of loſſes or miſmanagement, will not admit of liberalities, or eaſing the ſubjects of their burthens, the payment of the taxes in the colonies themſelves might, at leaſt, be ſuppreſſed, and the produce of them levied at home. This would be the next beſt ſyſtem that could be purſued, and would be equally agreeable to the old and new world.

Nothing is ſo pleaſing to an American, as to remove from his ſight every thing that denotes his dependence. Wearied with the importunities of collectors, he abhors ſtanding taxes, and dreads the increaſe of them. He in vain ſeeks for that liberty which he thought to have found at the diſtance of two thouſand leagues from Europe. He diſdains a yoke which purſues him through the ſtorms of the ocean. Diſcontented, and inwardly repining at the reſtraint he ſtill feels, he thinks with indignation on his native country; which, under the name of mother, calls for his blood, inſtead of feeding him. Remove the image of his chains from his ſight; let his riches pay their tribute to the mother-country only at landing there, and he will fancy himſelf free and privileged; though at the ſame time, by lowering the value of his own commodities, and enhancing the price of thoſe that come from Europe, he, in fact, ultimately bears the load of a tax of which he is ignorant.

NAVIGATORS will alſo find an advantage in paying duty only upon goods that have reached the place of their deſtination in their full value and without any riſque, and will reſtore the capital of their ſtock along with the profits. They will not then have the mortification of having purchaſed of the prince the very hazards of ſhipwreck, and of loſing a cargo for which they had paid duty at embarking. Their ſhips, on the contrary, will bring back, in merchandiſe, the amount of the duty; and the productions being advanced in value about twenty-one per cent. by exportation, the duty will hardly be felt.

LASTLY, the conſumer himſelf will be a gainer by it; becauſe, the coloniſt and the merchant cannot benefit by any regulation, of which in time the conſumer will not experience the good effects. All the taxes will no ſooner be reduced to a ſingle one, but trade will be clogged with fewer formalities, fewer delays, fewer charges, and conſequently the commodities can be ſold at a more reaſonable rate.

EVEN the ſtate itſelf might find a conſiderable political advantage in this. By this new arrangement, there would be a country, apparently exempt from all taxes, and enjoying abſolute liberty. Such an event would be the more remarkable, at a time when the Engliſh colonies groan under the burthen of freſh taxes. The contraſt would aggravate their ſufferings; their murmurs and their audacity would know no bounds; they would learn to place ſome confidence in a government which they have hitherto

hitherto accuſed of being tyrannical; and in caſe of a revolt in North-America, that vaſt region would be leſs afraid of putting itſelf under the protection of France.

This ſyſtem of moderation, which every thing ſeems to point out as the fitteſt, will be eaſily introduced. All the productions of the iſlands are ſubject, at their entry into the kingdom, to a duty known by the name of *Domaine d'Occident*, or weſtern domain, which is fixed at three and a half per cent. by two ſols * per livre. The value of theſe productions, which is the rule for the payment of the duty, is determined in the months of January and July. It is fixed at twenty, or five and twenty per cent. below the real price. The weſtern office allows, beſides, a more conſiderable tare than the ſeller in trade does. Add to this duty that which the commodities pay at the cuſtom-houſes of the colonies, which produces nearly the ſame, and thoſe that are paid in the inland parts of the iſlands; and we ſhall have the whole of the revenue which the government draws from the ſettlements in America.

If this fund were confounded with the other revenues of the ſtate, we might be apprehenſive that it was not applied to its deſtination, which ſhould be ſolely the protection of the iſlands. The unforeſeen exigencies of the royal treaſury would infallibly divert it into another channel. There are ſome moments when the critical ſtate of the diſeaſe will not admit of calculating the inconveniences of

* A penny.

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the remedy. The moſt urgent neceſſity engroſſes all the attention. Nothing then is ſecured from the hand of arbitrary power, urged by the wants of the preſent moment. The miniſtry is continually drawing out of the treaſury, under the deluſive hopes of replacing in a ſhort time what they have received; but the execution of this deſign is perpetually retarded by freſh demands.

HENCE it appears, that it would be highly neceſſary that the cheſt, deſtined for the duties on the productions of the colonies, ſhould be kept wholly ſeparate from that deſtined to receive the revenues of the kingdom. The ſums depoſited there as in truſt, would always be ready to anſwer the demands of thoſe ſettlements: The coloniſt, who always has ſtock to ſend over to Europe, would gladly give it for bills of exchange, when he was once aſſured that they would meet with no delays or difficulties in the payment of them. This kind of bank would ſoon create another means of communication between the mother-country and the iſlands; the court would be better acquainted with the ſtate of its affairs in theſe diſtant countries, and would recover the credit it has long ſince loſt; but which is of the utmoſt conſequence, eſpecially in time of war. We ſhall now put an end to our diſcuſſions on taxes, and conſider the regulations reſpecting the militia.

Is the militia well regulated in the French iſlands?

THE French iſlands, like thoſe of other nations, had no regular troops at firſt. The adventurers, who had conquered them, looked upon the right of defending themſelves as a privilege; and the deſcen-

deſcendents of thoſe intrepid men thought themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to guard their own poſſeſſions. They had nothing, indeed, to do but to repulſe a few veſſels, which landed ſome ſailors and ſoldiers, as undiſciplined as themſelves.

The ſituation of affairs has, indeed, undergone an alteration. As theſe ſettlements became more conſiderable, it was to be expected that they would, ſooner or later, be attacked by numerous European fleets and armies; and this made it neceſſary to ſend them other defenders. The event has ſhewn the inſufficiency of a few ſcattered battalions, to oppoſe the land and ſea forces of England. The coloniſts themſelves have been convinced that their own efforts could never prevent a revolution; and fearing that a fruitleſs reſiſtance would only exaſperate a victorious enemy, they were more inclined to capitulate than to fight. Having become political calculators, their weakneſs made them ſenſible that they were unfit for military operations, and they have contributed their money in order to be diſcharged from a ſervice, which, though glorious in its principle, had degenerated into a burthenſome ſervitude. The militia was ſuppreſſed in 1764.

This act of compliance has been applauded by thoſe who only conſidered this inſtitution as the means of preſerving the colonies from all foreign invaſions. They very ſenſibly imagined, that it was unreaſonable to require that men, who were grown old under the hardſhips of a ſcorching climate, in order to raiſe a large fortune, ſhould ex-

poſe themſelves to the ſame dangers as thoſe poor victims of our ambition, who are perpetually hazarding their lives for five-pence a day. Such a ſacrifice has appeared to them too unreaſonable to expect it ſhould be complied with; and the miniſtry, who ſaw the impropriety of keeping up ſuch a vain and burthenſome ſervice, and therefore diſcontinued it, have been commended.

THOSE who are better acquainted with the American ſettlements, have not judged ſo favourably of this innovation. The militia, ſay they, is neceſſary to preſerve the interior police of the iſlands; to prevent the revolt of the ſlaves; to check the incurſions of the fugitive negroes; to hinder the banditti from aſſembling in troops; to protect the navigation along the coaſts, and to keep off the privateers. If the inhabitants are not embodied; if they have neither commanders nor ſtandards, which of them will march to the aſſiſtance of his neighbours? There is no one to warn him of his danger, no one to command him; and that harmony and uniformity of action, without which nothing can be carried on with propriety, will totally be interrupted.

THESE reflections, which, though ſtriking and natural, had at firſt eſcaped the court of Verſailles, have ſoon produced an alteration in their conduct. They reſtored the militia with greater expedition than they had aboliſhed it. As early as the year 1766, the windward iſlands ſubmitted to it without any great reſiſtance, though an oppoſition might have been expected from the continuance of the

the new taxes, when their object no longer ſubſiſted. St. Domingo warmly expoſtulated againſt this abuſe of an authority, which was too haſty and too inconſtant in the meaſures it adopted, not to excite murmurings.

A PHILOSOPHICAL adminiſtrator, who was witneſs to the oppoſition which the re-eſtabliſhment of a forced militia met with from the inhabitants of St. Domingo, propoſed to make it voluntary. He made no doubt but that the proſpect of glory or fortune would have induced half the colony, whoſe example would have influenced the other half, to ſolicit as an honour what they abhorred as a yoke. But this expedient, ingenious as it was, and effectual as it might have been, was improper, becauſe it would have affected that uniformity which ought to ſubſiſt between iſlands that are under the ſame government. Such a diſtinction would have laid the foundation of jealouſies and diviſions; which would, ſooner or later, have proved fatal to the colonies, if not to the mother-country itſelf.

WITHOUT any of theſe political artifices, the people of St. Domingo have reſumed the military ſervice. Indeed, it has been with averſion and reluctance, founded upon grievances which cannot be too ſoon redreſſed. It is well-known, that a militia is a great reſtraint upon civil liberty; which they are more jealous of in the colonies than we are in Europe, where authority univerſally prevails. It expoſes the citizen to numberleſs vexations. The evils it has occaſioned have excited a deteſtation

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for this kind of ſervitude, which none but tyrants or ſlaves can be ſurpriſed at. It is neceſſary, if poſſible, to eradicate the impreſſions of the paſt, and remove all miſtruſt for the future. The condeſcenſion and moderation of government muſt put an end to the apprehenſions of the colonies, by making all thoſe alterations in the form of the militia, which are conſiſtent with its object; which is, to maintain public order and ſafety. The welfare of the people is the great end of all authority. If the actions of the ſovereign do not tend to this end, his exiſtence will be ſupported only by the aſſiſtance of money, or the ſanction of old records, which time will deſtroy, or poſterity deſpiſe. In vain does flattery raiſe numberleſs and magnificent monuments to princes; the hand of man erects them, but it is the heart that conſecrates them, and affection that renders them immortal. Without this, public trophies are only a proof of the meanneſs of the people, not of the greatneſs of the ruler. There is one ſtatue in Paris, the ſight of which makes every heart exult with ſentiments of affection. Every eye is turned with complacency towards this image of paternal and popular goodneſs. The tears of the diſtreſſed ſilently call upon it under the hardſhips of oppreſſion. Men ſecretly bleſs the hero it immortalizes. All voices unite to celebrate his memory after two centuries are elapſed. His name is in veneration to the uttermoſt parts of America. In every heart he proteſts againſt the abuſes of authority; he declares againſt the uſurpations of the rights of the people; he promiſes the

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ſubjects the redreſs of their grievances, and an increaſe of proſperity; and demands both of the miniſtry.

Is the regulation of inheritance properly ſettled in the French iſlands?

It is ſcarce credible, that a law, ſeemingly dictated by nature; a law which occurs inſtantly to every juſt and good man; which leaves no doubt in the mind as to its rectitude and utility; it is ſcarce credible, that ſuch a law ſhould ſometimes be prejudicial to the preſervation of ſociety, ſtop the progreſs of colonies, divert them from the end of their deſtination, and gradually pave the way to their ruin. Strange as it may ſeem, this law is no other than the equal diviſion of eſtates among children or co-heirs. This law, ſo conſonant to nature, ſhould be aboliſhed in America.

This diviſion was neceſſary at the firſt formation of colonies. Immenſe tracts of lands were to be cleared. This could not be done without people; nor could men who had quitted their own country for want, be any otherwiſe fixed in thoſe diſtant and deſert regions, than by aſſigning them a property. Had the government refuſed to grant them lands, they would have wandered about from one place to another; they would have begun to eſtabliſh various ſettlements, and have had the diſappointment to find, that none of them would attain to that degree of proſperity as to become uſeful to the mother-country.

But ſince inheritances, too extenſive at firſt, have in proceſs of time been reduced by a ſeries of ſucceſſions, and by the ſub-diviſions of ſhares, to

ſuch a compaſs as renders them fit to facilitate cultivation; ſince they have been ſo limited as not to lie fallow for want of hands proportionable to their extent, a further diviſion of lands would again reduce them to nothing. In Europe, an obſcure man who has but a few acres of land, will make that little eſtate more advantageous to him in proportion, than an opulent man will the immenſe property he is poſſeſſed of, either by inheritance or chance. In America, the nature of the productions, which are very valuable, the uncertainty of the crops, which are but few in their kind; the quantity of ſlaves, of cattle, of utenſils neceſſary for a plantation; all this requires a large ſtock, which they have not in ſome, and will ſoon want in all the colonies, if the lands are parcelled out and divided more and more by hereditary ſucceſſions.

If a father leaves an eſtate of 30,000 livres * a year, and this eſtate is equally divided between three children, they will all be ruined if they make three diſtinct plantations; the one, becauſe he has been made to pay too much for the buildings, and becauſe he has too few negroes, and too little land in proportion; the other two, becauſe they muſt build before they can begin upon the culture of their land. They will all be equally ruined, if the whole plantation remains in the hands of one of the three. In a country where a creditor is in a worſe ſtate than any other man, eſtates have riſen to an immoderate value. The poſſeſſor of the whole will

* 1312 l. 10 s.

will be very fortunate if he is obliged to pay no more for intereſt than the net produce of the plantation. Now, as the primary law of our nature is the procuring of ſubſiſtence, he will begin by procuring that without paying his debts. Theſe will accumulate, and he will ſoon become inſolvent; and the confuſion conſequent upon ſuch a ſituation, will end in the ruin of the whole family.

The only way to remedy theſe diſorders, is to aboliſh the equality of the diviſion of land. In this enlightened age, government ſhould ſee the neceſſity of letting the colonies be more ſtocked with things than with men. The wiſdom of the legiſlature will, doubtleſs, find out ſome compenſation for thoſe it has injured, and in ſome meaſure ſacrificed to the welfare of the community. They ought to be placed upon freſh lands, and to ſubſiſt by their own labour. This is the only way to maintain this ſort of men; and their induſtry would open a freſh ſource of wealth to the ſtate.

At the concluſion of the peace, a favourable opportunity offered itſelf for making the propoſed alteration in St. Lucia and Guiana. The French ought not to have neglected this opportunity, perhaps the only one that will offer to repeal the law relating to the diviſion of eſtates, by diſtributing to thoſe whoſe expectations they had fruſtrated, ſuch lands as they intended to cultivate; and by giving them thoſe conſiderable ſums that have been expended to no purpoſe, as the neceſſary advance for carrying on the cultivation. Men inured to the climate, acquainted with the only kind of culture that could

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poſſibly be thought of, encouraged by the example, aſſiſtance, and advice of their own families, and aided by the ſlaves with which government would have ſupplied them, were much fitter for this purpoſe than a ſet of profligate men, collected from the refuſe of Europe, and were much more likely to raiſe the new colonies to that pitch of wealth and proſperity which might be expected. Unfortunately we were not aware, that the firſt colonies in America muſt have increaſed by ſlow degrees and of themſelves, with the loſs of a great many men, or by extraordinary exertions of bravery and patience, becauſe they had no competition to ſupport; but that the ſucceeding ſettlements could only be formed by the natural means of population, as an old ſwarm begets a new one. The overflowings of population in one iſland muſt ſpread into another; and the ſuperfluities of a rich colony furniſh neceſſaries to an infant ſettlement. This is the natural order which good policy points out to maritime and commercial powers. All other methods are irrational and deſtructive. Though the court of Verſailles has overlooked this plain principle, productive of ſo much good; this is no reaſon why they ſhould reject the propoſal of putting a ſtop to the further diviſion of lands. If the neceſſity of ſuch a law be evident, it muſt be enacted, though the preſent time be leſs favourable than that which hath been neglected. When the plantations are reſtored to their ſtate of proſperity, by the ſuppreſſion of that diviſion of land, which precludes every means of improvement, the planters

planters may then be compelled to clear themſelves of the debts with which their plantations are now oppreſſed.

THE French iſlands, like all others in America, can only be cultivated by blacks. The climate lays them under a neceſſity of purchaſing labourers. To procure them, they muſt have capitals; and the firſt inhabitants had none. They raiſed them by trade, which therefore gave theſe valuable ſettlements their firſt exiſtence. This kind of aſſiſtance, which, perhaps, has been ſince too eaſily granted, has involved them in debts, which have increaſed as they have proceeded in clearing a greater extent of land.

Has the payment of debts contracted in the French iſlands been judiciouſly provided for?

THE equality of partition between the ſeveral heirs, has raiſed up creditors within the colonies, as there were already without. As the colonies grew richer, their credit increaſed in proportion to the multiplicity of diviſions. When the population increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the number of coloniſts exceeded that of plantations, the ſuperfluous numbers then remaining unemployed became creditors to eſtates they did not occupy, and were therefore not only uſeleſs, but even burthenſome to cultivation. We have juſt pointed out a method of preventing entirely the neceſſity of this credit within the iſlands; but in what manner ſhall the debts contracted abroad be diſcharged?

WE are told that the planters ſhould ſpend but a part of their income, and reſerve the reſt for the fulfilling of their engagements. But it is not conſidered that thoſe who could afford to make

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theſe ſavings, are the people who are not in debt; whereas the debtors have ſuch a ſcanty income, that they cannot poſſibly ſave any thing. Beſides, nothing would be more unreaſonable than to introduce this ſyſtem of œconomy into the colonies. As the value of their produce is entirely owing to exchange, and as in this caſe the exchange would be in a manner annihilated, becauſe it would be confined to cheap articles of mere neceſſity; the Americans would either be obliged to raiſe but few of their own commodities, or to ſell them for a trifle. Should the mother-country be willing to make up in money the deficiencies in the ſale of their merchandiſe, then all the gold that is drawn from one part of America would return to the other. There is a power, known by the ſuperiority of its naval force, which, after ten years of ſuch a trade, would be ſure of finding in theſe iſlands a compenſation for any war it might undertake; and it would be highly impolitic for France to invite that power to attack her ſettlements abroad.

TRADERS are no leſs intereſted than the government in the perpetuity of debts. The colonies were firſt eſtabliſhed upon credit. When the firſt cultivators had cleared themſelves, the loan has been renewed to their ſucceſſors; and the preſent poſſeſſors ſtill enjoy the ſame benefit. If they were compelled to pay off this loan, it might ſoon be done, but culture would ſuffer by it; and though it might not, poſſibly, degenerate, yet it would be deprived of the firſt fruits of virgin lands, which

which are always moſt fertile. Traders would then find fewer commodities to buy in the iſlands; they would have leſs demand for ſlaves, utenſils, and all other articles neceſſary for new ſettlements, and which are almoſt as conſiderable as thoſe which are requiſite for the wants or luxury of the plantations already formed. In proceſs of time their tranſactions would be ſtill more reduced. It is well known how reluctantly they ſee the rich planer accuſtom himſelf to ſend his own productions to Europe, to draw the articles of his own conſumption from thence, and reduce his agents to the bare profits of commiſſion. If that dependence which is a neceſſary conſequence of debts, ſhould ceaſe, it would no longer be a few planters, but the whole colony, that would make their own purchaſes and ſales in the mother-country: they would all become traders, and even would ſoon have no competitors; becauſe they alone would be acquainted with the meaſure of their own wants.

CREDIT therefore is evidently the baſis of all uſeful connections between the merchants of France and her colonies; and to reſtore their ſtock, would be in effect to deprive them of their profits. Unreaſonably have they complained for theſe forty years paſt, that they are abſolutely ruined by the delays they experience in the payments; the fortunes that have been made in the ports of France, by their intercourſe with the iſlands, are a proof of the injuſtice of theſe complaints.

POLITICAL utility, or even the neceſſity of the colony's being in debt to the mother-country, can, however,

however, by no means cancel the obligation every private man is under to fulfil his engagements. Though evil may be the effect, frequently even the cauſe of good; yet the man who commits it cannot on that account be juſtified or excuſed. It is a matter of indifference to the ſtate, whether a certain maſs of wealth is in ſuch or ſuch hands; but it can never be conducive to the public welfare that any man ſhould think himſelf at liberty not to pay his debts. The treaſury itſelf, if it is under any engagements, muſt clear itſelf conſiſtently with the principles of juſtice. A public bankruptcy of the ſtate is infamous; ſtill more prejudicial to the morals of ſociety than to the fortunes of individuals. A time will come, when all theſe iniquities ſhall be ſummoned before the tribunal of nations, and when the power which has committed them ſhall be judged by its victims. The debts of America, therefore, ought to be paid; but it muſt be done imperceptibly, and not by ſudden or violent meaſures. While the old debts are paying off, new ones will be contracted, which will perpetuate, as it were, that chain of dependence that links the fortunes of Europe with thoſe of the colonies. It is by judicial means that the creditors of the trade of the iſlands are to be ſatisfied. True juſtice is ever uniform in itſelf; its favours and puniſhments are equally ſhewn to all. If the execution of it is committed to the arbitrary will of thoſe who govern, as it has hitherto been in the colonies, it neceſſarily degenerates into tyranny. It is oftentimes a hardſhip upon debtors, who are compelled

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to break the moſt ſacred engagements, in order to fulfil the moſt trifling, and to ſacrifice part of their income, and ſometimes of their ſtock, by ſales made at an improper ſeaſon, and without any of the proper forms. It is often unjuſt for the creditors themſelves. It is neither the oldeſt, nor he that has moſt right, nor yet he that wants it moſt, who is firſt paid: it is the moſt powerful, the beſt patronized, the moſt active, the moſt violent; whereas the law only ought to decide.

That law which, in the colonies, allows of the actual ſeizure of the plantations, is impracticable. A proof of it is, that no man has ever yet had recourſe to it, though there have always been diſhoneſt debtors in the iſlands, and clamorous creditors, who would not have neglected this mode of recovery if it could have been purſued with ſucceſs.

The method of perſonal ſeizure, which ſome have propoſed to ſubſtitute to the ſeizure of goods and chattels, would not be more effectual. It would be no eaſy matter to arreſt a planter ſurrounded with a multitude of ſlaves, upon a plantation ſtanding by itſelf. His impriſonment would prove as ruinous to his creditors as to himſelf. His negroes would grow riotous in his abſence; they would ceaſe to work, but go and plunder the neighbouring plantations. But might not the negroes of a debtor be ſeized and ſold? Then the ſlaves who ſhould ceaſe to work upon one plantation would be employed upon another, and the colony not injured.

This expedient is only a ſpecious one, and we muſt know but little of the character of the ne-

groes to truſt to it. They are a kind of machines not eaſily wound up, and not to be removed with ſafety to a freſh manufacture. A change of place, of maſter, of method, of employment, requires the contracting of freſh habits, and ſuch an exertion as theſe wretched creatures are hardly capable of, who are already miſerable under the neceſſity of hard labour, ill adapted to their voluptuous diſpoſition. They cannot live without their miſtreſſes and their children, which are their deareſt comforts, and the only thing that makes them endure life. Separated from this only conſolation to men in affliction, they pine away and ſicken, and frequently deſert, or at leaſt they work but with reluctance and careleſſneſs.

Besides, it would be no eaſy matter to ſeize upon theſe blacks. Fifty, a hundred, or two hundred ſlaves would not tamely ſuffer themſelves to be thrown in chains by a few bailiffs; and they would ſoon diſperſe, if any attempt ſhould be made to enter the plantation by force. If one ſhould endeavour to ſeize them in the towns where they go to ſell their goods, they would ſoon keep away, and a ſcarcity of proviſions would be the conſequence of almoſt univerſal deſertion.

Suppose all theſe difficulties could be removed, this expedient would ſtill be improper, becauſe, in ſecuring the payment of one creditor, it would ruin many others. The ſmalleſt ſugar plantations employ ſixty or ſeventy ſlaves upon the beſt lands, and fourſcore or a hundred where the ground is but indifferent. The number cannot be leſſened

without putting a ſtop to the tillage. The ſeizing of fifteen or twelve blacks is enough to ruin a plantation, and to deſtroy an important culture, to make a capital of fifty or one hundred thouſand crowns* become uſeleſs, and a ſkilful planter quite inſolvent. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that the owner being forced to ſell, the purchaſer would reinſtate the plantation; but it is well known that there are no ſuch monied men on the iſlands as to pay ready money; that all purchaſes are made upon a very long credit, and even with a tacit expectation of obtaining further delays. Take away this credit, and there will not be a ſingle purchaſer to be found.

No planter ſurely would be ſo raſh to venture upon a conſiderable undertaking with a proſpect of certain ruin, unleſs fortune and the elements ſhould favour his endeavours, ſo as to make good his engagements to a day. The dread of want and infamy will become general, and then there will be no more borrowing, no more buſineſs, no more circulation, no more activity. Credit will be deſtroyed by the very ſyſtem that was meant to reſtore it. Theſe are no imaginary fears; they are but too well juſtified by the deplorable events of the year 1750. At that memorable and unfortunate period for St. Domingo, a permiſſion was extorted from the government to ſeize the negroes for the planter's debts. The firſt executions of this kind, though unſucceſsful, ſpread terror and conſternation throughout the colony. The confuſion was inconceivable, and all was tending to ruin. The merchants who had ſollicited this odious and

* From about 7,000l. to upwards of 13,000l.

and ſevere law, thought themſelves very happy that they could obtain the repeal of it.

No expedient therefore has been found out for the ſecurity of creditors, but what is prejudicial to the proſperity of the colonies, and conſequently to that of the monarchy. Yet the ſecret ſprings of politics muſt certainly afford ſome means to reconcile the intereſts of individuals with thoſe of the public; and it is the buſineſs of ſtateſmen to diſcover them. This law of equity will be approved, even by thoſe who are ſufferers from it, if it is introduced by reaſonable methods, the only ones, perhaps, that ſhould be employed with civilized men, at leaſt the eaſieſt and the ſafeſt. A planter, enlightened by public information, will be ſenſible that the facility of not paying becomes burdenſome to him from the impoſſibility of finding credit but upon ſuch terms as will balance the riſque of lending. Whether he ſeeks it to increaſe or to preſerve his ſtock, he will obtain none but to his ruin. His ſituation is the ſame as that of minors, who can never borrow but upon hard terms of uſurers accuſtomed to indemnify themſelves beforehand for the delays and for the hazards they run.

But if the planter is not to be brought to a ſenſe of his duty by motives of intereſt; if it is dangerous to have recourſe to compulſive methods to oblige him to fulfill his engagements, why ſhould not the legiſlature attempt what may be done upon the principle of honour, which is a moſt powerful motive in monarchies, as it is the ground-work

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and ſpring of their conſtitution. Is not opinion as coercive as force? Stamp but a mark of infamy upon the fraudulent debtor, declare that he has forfeited all the diſtinctions he enjoyed, render him incapable of ever exerciſing any public office, and we need not apprehend that he will ſport with a law of this kind. But then the tribunals of juſtice muſt in this reſpect be thoſe of honour. Let the defaulter be tried and condemned with the ſeveral forms which make all other laws ſacred. The moſt rapacious of men, and eſpecially the American planters, ſacrifice a part of their lives to hard labour, with no other view than to enjoy their fortune. But there is no enjoyment for a man who is branded with infamy. Obſerve only how punctually all debts of honour are paid. It is not an exceſs of delicacy, it is not the love of juſtice, that brings back the ruined gameſter within four and twenty hours to the feet of his creditor, who, perhaps, is no better than a ſharper. It is the ſenſe of honour; it is the dread of being excluded from ſociety. The moſt intereſted man aims at enjoyment, and none can be obtained without honour.

But in what age, at what period, do we here invoke the ſacred name of honour? Should not the government ſet the example of that juſtice, the practice of which it means to inculcate? Is it poſſible that public opinion ſhould diſgrace individuals for actions which the ſtate openly commits? When infamy has inſinuated itſelf into families, into great houſes, into the higheſt places, even into the camp and the ſanctuary, can there be any

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ſenſe of ſhame remaining? What man will henceforth be jealous of his honour, while thoſe who are called men of honour, know of no other than that of being rich to get places, or of getting places to grow rich; when a man muſt cringe in order to riſe; pleaſe the great and the women to ſerve the ſtate; and when the art of being agreeable implies at leaſt an indifference for every virtue? Shall honour, which ſeems to be baniſhed from ſome parts of Europe, take refuge in America? Why ſhould this be deſpaired of before it has been tried? If the experiment ſhould not anſwer, the debtors who ſhould refuſe to pay their debts, ſhould be treated in the French iſlands, as they are in thoſe that are ſubject to England and Holland. The three nations have alike concentrated the connections of their American ſettlements in the mother-country.

Has the mother-country, in compelling the iſlands to deliver their produce only to herſelf, ſufficiently ſecured the exportation of them?

ALL the colonies have not had the ſame origin. Some took their riſe from the reſtleſs ſpirit of ſome tribes of barbarians, who having long wandered through deſert countries, fixed themſelves at laſt, from mere wearineſs, in any one where they might form a nation. Others, driven out of their own territory by ſome powerful enemy, or allured by chance to a better climate than their own, have removed thither, and ſhared the lands with the natives. An exceſs of population, an abhorrence for tyranny, factions and revolutions have induced other citizens to quit their native country, and to go and build new cities in foreign climes. The ſpirit of conqueſt made ſome ſoldiers ſettle in the countries

countries they had ſubdued, to ſecure the property of them to themſelves. None of theſe colonies were firſt formed with a view to trade. Even thoſe that were founded by Tyre, Carthage, and Marſeilles, which were all commercial republics, were only meant for neceſſary retreats upon barbarous coaſts, and for marts, where ſhips that were come from different ports, and tired with a long voyage, reciprocally made their exchanges.

THE conqueſt of America gave the firſt idea of a new kind of ſettlement, the baſis of which is agriculture. The governments that founded thoſe colonies, choſe that ſuch of their ſubjects as they ſent thither, ſhould not have it in their power to conſume any thing but what they drew from the mother-country, or to ſell the produce of their lands to any other ſtate. This double obligation has appeared to all nations to be conſonant to the law of nature, independent of all conventions, and ſelf-evident. They have not looked upon an excluſive intercourſe with their own colonies as an immoderate compenſation for the expences of ſettling and preſerving them. This has conſtantly been the ſyſtem of Europe relative to America.

FRANCE had never yet departed from it, when a man of genius, remarkable for the extent of his ideas, and the energy of his expreſſions, attempted to mitigate the ſeverity of this principle. He ſuggeſted, that to allow the colonies to receive ſuch foreign goods as cannot be had from France, with eaſe, and at a moderate price, would be a mode of increaſing their proſperity; which muſt ſooner or

later flow back to the original country, to which they would ſend more commodities, and afford a quicker ſale for their produce. This opinion ſpread an univerſal alarm in all the ports of the kingdom. They exclaimed that this competition was an infringement of the moſt ſacred rights of the ſtate, and would abſorb the principal ſources of its wealth.

This circumſtance has been the ſubject of much altercation; but it has not been conſidered in its moſt important light. The diſputants, and the public by whom they were judged, attending only to the intereſts of culture and commerce, loſt ſight of the grand political object, which is the preſervation of the colonies. The truth is, that we ſhould run the riſque of loſing them, if foreign ſhips were admitted into their harbours.

Above a century ago, England laid the foundations of an immenſe empire in the vaſt wilds of North America, which advanced but ſlowly at firſt, but now makes a daily rapid progreſs. Its power, long checked by an enemy ever upon the watch, and ever ready to attack its back ſettlements, has nothing now that can reſtrain it, ſince the acquiſition of Canada and of the moſt valuable part of Louiſiana. The Engliſh, freed by theſe conqueſts from all uneaſineſs on the ſide of the continent, may, one time or other, be tempted to turn their ambitious view towards the neighbouring iſlands. Even now, nothing is wanting to them to purſue the courſe of their proſperities, but a population adequate to the extent of their territory. Among the

the cauſes which may promote this population, none would be more likely to haſten it, than a conſtant intercourſe with the French colonies; which, being deficient in the very articles that North America can ſupply, would, by purchaſing their productions, enable them to raiſe more, and to augment their ſtrength. No doubt the court of Verſailles is too well informed, to ſacrifice the ſafety of the iſlands to the acceſſary advantage that might accrue from a free trade for a few trifling objects.

But if on the one hand it is incumbent on us to cut off from our rivals this road to wealth, and of courſe to conqueſt; on the other hand, it is neceſſary to take care that our iſlanders ſhall never want a market to diſpoſe of all their commodities. The colonies ſend annually to France, beſides what they keep for their own conſumption, a hundred thouſand hogſheads of molaſſes and rum, worth about five millions of livres *. By an ill-judged ſelfiſhneſs, ſhe has deprived them and herſelf of this benefit, from an apprehenſion of injuring the ſale of her own brandies. The brandies drawn from ſugar, always inferior to thoſe extracted from wine, can only be for the uſe of poor nations, or of the lower claſs of people in the rich ones. They will never be preferred to any but malt ſpirits, and theſe are not diſtilled in France. There will always be a demand for the French brandies, even in the iſlands, for the uſe of that claſs of men who can afford to pay for them.

* 218,750l.

them. The government, therefore, can never too ſoon retract ſo unjuſt and ſo fatal an error, and ought to admit molaſſes and rum into its ports, to be conſumed there, or wherever elſe they may be wanted. Nothing would more extend their conſumption than to authorize French navigators to carry them directly to the foreign markets. This indulgence ought even to be extended to the whole produce of the colonies. As an opinion that claſhes with ſo many intereſts and ſo many prejudices, may probably be conteſted, it will be proper to eſtabliſh it on clear principles.

THE French iſlands furniſh the mother-country with ſugars, coffee, cotton, indigo, and other commodities, that are partly conſumed at home, and partly diſpoſed of in foreign countries, which return in exchange either ſilver, or other articles that are wanted. Theſe iſlands receive from the mother-country cloaths, proviſions, and inſtruments of huſbandry. Such is the twofold deſtination of the colonies. In order to fulfil it they muſt be rich. In order to be rich, they muſt grow large crops, and be able to diſpoſe of them at the beſt price: and that this price may be kept up, the ſale of them muſt be as general as poſſible. To obtain this, it muſt be made entirely free. In order to make it as free as poſſible, it muſt be clogged with no formalities, no expences, no labours, no needleſs incumbrances. Theſe truths, which may be proved from their cloſe connection with each other, muſt determine whether it is advantageous that the

trade

trade of the colonies ſhould be ſubjected to the delays and expences of a ſtaple in France.

These intermediate expences muſt neceſſarily fall, either upon the conſumer or upon the planter. If upon the former, he will conſume leſs, becauſe his means do not increaſe in proportion to his expences; if upon the latter, as his produce brings in leſs, he will be leſs able to make the neceſſary advances for the next crop, and of courſe his lands will yield leſs. The evident progreſs of theſe deſtructive conſequences is ſo little attended to, that every day we hear people confidently ſay, that merchandiſe, before it is conſumed, muſt paſs through many hands, and undergo many charges, both for handicraft and carriage; and that as theſe charges employ and maintain a number of peſons, they are conducive to the population and ſtrength of a ſtate. Men are ſo blinded by prejudice, as not to ſee that if it is advantageous that commodities, before they are conſumed, ſhould undergo a twofold expence; this advantage will ſtill be increaſed, to the greater emolument of the nation, if this expence ſhould amount to four, eight, twelve, or thirty times more. Then, indeed, all nations might break up their highways, fill up their canals, prohibit the navigation of their rivers; they might even exclude animals from the labours of the field, and employ none but men in theſe works, in order to add to the expences that precede the conſumption of the produce. Yet ſuch are the abſurdities we muſt maintain, if we admit the falſe principle we are now oppoſing; but

political

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political truths muſt be long canvaſſed before they are perceived. Many errors have been introduced among ſtateſmen, as well as among the people, without examination. The French miniſtry, long blinded by that darkneſs in which they ſuffered their nation to remain, had not yet acquired a ſufficient degree of knowledge to diſcover what kind of adminiſtration was fitteſt for the colonies; and they are ſtill equally ignorant of the form of government beſt calculated to make them proſper.

Is the authority in the French iſlands committed to thoſe perſons who are moſt proper to make them flouriſh?

THE French colonies, ſettled by profligate men, who fled from the reſtraints or puniſhment of the law, ſeemed at firſt to ſtand in need of nothing but a ſtrict police; they were therefore committed to chiefs who had an unlimited authority. The ſpirit of intrigue, natural to all courts, but more eſpecially familiar to a nation where gallantry gives the women an univerſal aſcendent, has at all times filled the higher poſts in America with worthleſs men, loaded with debts and vices. The miniſtry, from ſome ſenſe of ſhame, and the fear of raiſing ſuch men where their diſgrace was known, have ſent them beyond ſea, to improve or retrieve their fortunes, among people who were ignorant of their miſconduct. An ill-judged compaſſion, and that miſtaken maxim of courtiers, that villainy is neceſſary, and villains are uſeful, made them deliberately ſacrifice the peace of the planters, the ſafety of the colonies, and the very intereſts of the ſtate, to a ſet of infamous perſons only fit to be impriſoned. Theſe rapacious and diſſolute men ſtifled the ſeeds of all that was good and laudable, and

checked the progreſs of that proſperity which was riſing ſpontaneouſly.

ARBITRARY power carries along with it ſo ſubtle a poiſon, that even thoſe men who went over with honeſt intentions, were ſoon corrupted. If ambition, avarice and pride had not begun to infect them, they would not have been proof againſt flattery, which never fails to raiſe its meanneſs upon general ſlavery, and to advance its own fortune by public calamity.

THE few governors who eſcaped corruption, meeting with no ſupport in an arbitrary adminiſtration, were continually falling from one miſtake into another. Men are to be governed by laws and not by men. If the governors are deprived of this common rule, this ſtandard of their judgments, all right, all ſafety, and all civil liberty, will be extinct. Nothing will then be ſeen but contradictory deciſions, tranſient and oppoſite regulations and orders, which, for want of fundamental maxims, will have no connection with each other. If the code of laws was cancelled, even in the beſt-conſtituted empire, it would ſoon appear, that juſtice alone was not ſufficient to govern it well. The wiſeſt men would be inadequate to ſuch a taſk. As they would not all be of the ſame mind, and as each of them would not always be in the ſame diſpoſition, the ſtate would ſoon be ſubverted. This kind of confuſion was perpetual in the French colonies, and the more ſo, as the governors made but a ſhort ſtay in one place, and were recalled before they had time to take cognizance of any thing.

After

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After they had proceeded without a guide for three years, in a new country, and upon unformed plans of police and laws, theſe rulers were replaced by others, who, in as ſhort a ſpace, had not time to form any connection with the people they were to govern, nor to ripen their projects into that juſtice which, when tempered with mildneſs, can alone ſecure the execution of them. This want of experience, and of precedents, ſo much intimidated one of theſe abſolute magiſtrates, that, out of delicacy, he would not venture to decide upon the common occurrences. Not but that he was aware of the inconveniences of his irreſolution; but, though an able man, he did not think himſelf qualified to be a legiſlator, and therefore did not chuſe to uſurp the authority of one.

YET theſe diſorders might eaſily have been prevented, by ſubſtituting an equitable legiſlation, firm, and independent of private will, to a military government, violent in itſelf, and adapted only to critical and perilous times. But this ſcheme, which has often been propoſed, was diſapproved by the governors jealous of abſolute power; which, formidable in itſelf, is always odious in a ſubject. Theſe ſlaves, eſcaped from the ſecret tyranny of the court, were remarkably attached to that form of juſtice which prevails in Aſiatic governments, by which they kept even their own dependents in awe. The reformation was rejected even by ſome virtuous governors, who did not conſider, that, by reſerving to themſelves the right of doing good, they left it in the power of their ſucceſſors to

do ill with impunity. All exclaimed againſt a plan of legiſlation that tended to leſſen the dependence of the people; and the court was weak enough to give way to their inſinuation and advice, from a conſequence of that propenſity to arbitrary power natural to princes and their miniſters. They thought they provided ſufficiently for their colonies, by giving them an intendant to balance the power of the governor.

THESE diſtant ſettlements, which, till then, had groaned under the yoke of one proprietor only, now became a prey to two, equally dangerous by their diviſion and their union. When they were at variance they divided the minds of the people, ſowed diſcord among their adherents, and kindled a kind of civil war. The rumour of their diſſentions was at length brought to Europe, where each party had its favourers, who were animated by pride or intereſt to ſupport them in their poſts. When they agreed, either becauſe their good or bad intentions happened to be the ſame, or becauſe the one had got an entire aſcendent over the other, the coloniſts were in a worſe condition than ever. Whatever oppreſſion theſe victims laboured under, their complaints were never heard in the mother-country, who looked upon the harmony that ſubſiſted between her delegates, as the moſt certain proof of a faultleſs adminiſtration.

THE fate of the French colonies is not much improved. Their governors, beſides having the diſpoſal of the regular troops, have a right to inliſt the inhabitants; to order them to what works they

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they think proper; to employ them as they pleaſe in time of war, and even to make uſe of them for conqueſt. Intruſted with abſolute authority, and deſirous of exerting all the powers that can eſtabliſh or extend it, they take upon themſelves the cognizance of civil debts. The debtor is ſummoned, thrown into priſon or into a dungeon, and compelled to pay without any other formality; and this is what they call the ſervice, or the military department. The intendants have the ſole management and diſpoſal of the finances, and generally order the collecting of them. They inquire into all cauſes, both civil and criminal; whether juſtice has not yet taken cognizance of them, or whether they have already been brought before the ſuperior tribunals; and this is what they call adminiſtration. The governors and intendants jointly grant the lands that have not yet been given away, and judge of all differences that ariſe reſpecting old poſſeſſions. This arrangement puts the fortunes of all the coloniſts into their hands, or into thoſe of their clerks and dependents; and conſequently makes all property precarious, and occaſions the utmoſt confuſion.

In mechanics, the further the reſiſting powers are removed from the center, the more the moving force muſt be increaſed; in like manner, we are told, the colonies cannot be ſecured any otherwiſe than by a harſh and abſolute government. If ſo, Sir William Petty was in the right to diſapprove of theſe ſort of ſettlements. The earth had better remain unpeopled, or thinly inhabited, than that

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ſome powers ſhould be extended to the misfortune of the people. It is incumbent upon France to invalidate this ſyſtem of an Engliſhman againſt colonies, by improving more and more in the method of governing them. That enlightened ſpirit which diſtinguiſhes the preſent age, whatever may be the aſſertion of thoſe who attribute to the contempt of certain prejudices, the vices inſeparable from luxury; and to the freedom of thinking and writing, thoſe corrupt manners that ariſe from the paſſions of the great, and from the abuſe of power: that enlightened ſpirit, I ſay, which ſtill ſupports and guides the nation, while morality is little attended to, will one day reſtore the government to a ſenſe of its true intereſts. It will be made ſenſible that there has been no juſtice in the colonies, becauſe they had no fixed laws, intruſted to the direction of proper tribunals. If this ſet of men, always enſlaved, always oppreſſed, have not hitherto been thought to deſerve this mark of confidence, let them be made worthy of it, by granting it to them. Their ſouls will be inflamed with the ſacred enthuſiaſm of public good, when once they can devote themſelves to it without fear or anxiety. This truly patriotic zeal will kindle of itſelf, if theſe men who compoſe the magiſtracy are born in the colonies.

NOTHING appears to be more conſonant to the ends of ſound policy, than to allow theſe iſlanders the right of governing themſelves, provided it be in ſubordination to the mother country; nearly in the ſame manner as a boat follows all the directions

rections of the ſhip it is faſtened to. It will, perhaps, be objected, that the people in thoſe remote iſlands being continually renewed by the fluctuation of commerce, this will naturally bring in a number of worthleſs men; and that it will be long before we can expect to ſee thoſe manners and that ſagacity among them, which will be productive of public ſpirit, and of that dignity which is requiſite to ſupport the weight of affairs and the intereſts of a nation. This objection might have ſome foundation if we attended merely to the character of thoſe Europeans who are driven to America by their wants or their vices; who, by thus tranſporting themſelves, either by choice or from other motives, are ſtrangers every where; commonly corrupted by the want of laws, ill ſupplied by an arbitrary police; by that depraved taſte for dominion, which reſults from the abuſe of ſlavery; and by the dazzling luſtre of a great fortune, which makes them forget their former obſcurity. But this claſs of men ought to have no ſhare in the adminiſtration, which ſhould be wholly committed to proprietors, moſtly born in the colonies; for juſtice is the natural conſequence of property; and none are more intereſted in the good government of a country, than thoſe who are entitled by their birth to the largeſt poſſeſſions in it. Theſe creoles, who have naturally a great ſhare of penetration, a frankneſs of character, an elevation of ſoul, and a certain love of juſtice that ariſes from theſe valuable diſpoſitions, would be ſo ſenſible of the marks of eſteem and confidence which would be ſhewn them

them by the mother-country, in intruſting them with the interior management of their own, that they would grow fond of that fertile ſoil, take a pride in improving it, and be happy in introducing all the comforts of a civilized ſociety. Inſtead of that antipathy to France, which is a reflection upon her miniſters, and upbraids them with their ſeverity, we ſhould ſee in the colonies that attachment which paternal kindneſs always inſpires to children. Inſtead of that ſecret eagerneſs which, in time of war, makes them readily ſubmit to a foreign yoke, we ſhould ſee them uniting their efforts to prevent or repulſe an invaſion. Fear will reſtrain men under the immediate eye of a powerful and formidable maſter; but affection alone can command them at a diſtance. This is, perhaps, the only ſpring that acts upon the frontier provinces of an extenſive kingdom; while the indolent and rapacious inhabitants of the metropolis are kept in awe by authority. Attachment to the ſovereign is a principle which cannot be too much encouraged, or too much extended; but, if it is neither merited nor returned, he will not enjoy it long. No more joy will then appear in public feſtivals, no tranſports of exultation, no involuntary acclamations will be heard at the ſight of the beloved idol. Curioſity will bring a throng wherever there is a public ſpectacle; but contentment will not appear in any countenance. A ſullen diſcontent will ariſe, and ſpread from one province to another; and from the mother-country to the colonies. When the fortunes of all men are injured or threatened

at once, the alarm and the commotion becomes general. Exertions of authority, multiplied by the imprudence of those who first venture upon them, occasion a general alarm, and fall successively upon all bodies of men. The avengers of crimes, and supporters of the rights of the colonists, are brought up even from America, and confined like malefactors in the prisons of Europe. The weapons of government, which seemed useless against the enemy, are directed against these valuable subjects of the state. Those very arms that were not able to defend them during the war, are employed to spread terror among them in time of peace. Is it thus that colonies are preserved, and their prosperity promoted? Rome learnt of her enemies how to conquer the old world; let France now learn of her rival how to people and cultivate the new.

END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

BOOK XIV.

Settlement of the Engliſh in the American iſlands.

ENGLAND was not in a very flouriſhing ſituation when her ſettlements in America were firſt begun in 1625. Her agriculture was not extended either to flax or hemp. The attempts that had been made to raiſe mulberry trees and breed ſilkworms had been unſucceſsful. The labours of the huſbandman were wholly engaged in the growing of corn, which, notwithſtanding the turn of the nation for rural employments, was ſeldom ſufficient for home conſumption, and many of their granaries were ſtored from the fields bordering on the Baltic.

The ſtate of England when ſhe began to form ſettlements in the American iſlands.

INDUSTRY was ſtill leſs advanced than agriculture. It was confined to woollen manufactures.

Theſe had been increaſed ſince the exportation of unwrought wool had been prohibited; but theſe iſlanders, who ſeemed to work only for themſelves, were ignorant of the method of ſpreading thoſe elegant ornaments upon their ſtuffs, which taſte contrived to promote the ſale and conſumption of them. They ſent their cloths over to Holland, where the Dutch gave them their colouring and gloſs; from whence they circulated all over Europe, and were even brought back to England.

Navigation hardly employed at that time ten thouſand ſailors. Theſe were in the ſervice of excluſive companies, which had engroſſed every branch of trade, not excepting that of cloth, which alone conſtituted a tenth part of the commercial riches of the nation. Theſe, therefore, were centered in the hands of three or four hundred perſons, who agreed, for their own advantage, to fix the price of goods, both at going out and coming into the kingdom. The privileges of theſe monopolizers were exerciſed in the capital, where the court ſold the provinces. London alone had ſix times the number of ſhips that all the other ports in the kingdom put together had.

The public revenue neither was nor could be very conſiderable. It was farmed out; a ruinous method, which has preceded the eſtabliſhment of the finance in all ſtates, but has only been continued under arbitrary governments. The expences were proportionable to the low ſtate of the treaſury. The fleet was ſmall, and the ſhips ſo weak,

that in times of neceſſity the merchantmen were turned into men of war. A hundred and ſixty thouſand militia, which was the whole military force of the nation, were armed in time of war. There were no ſtanding forces in time of peace, and the king himſelf had no guards.

WITH ſuch confined powers at home the nation ſhould not have ventured to extend itſelf in ſettlements abroad. Notwithſtanding this, ſome colonies were eſtabliſhed which laid a ſolid foundation of proſperity. The origin of theſe ſettlements was owing to certain events, the cauſes of which may be traced very far back.

Cauſes which haſtened the population of the Britiſh iſlands.

WHOEVER is acquainted with the hiſtory and progreſs of the Engliſh government, knows that the regal authority was for a long time balanced only by a ſmall number of conſiderable proprietors of land called Barons. They prepetually oppreſſed the people, the greater part of whom were degraded by ſlavery; and they were conſtantly ſtruggling againſt the power of the crown, with more or leſs ſucceſs, according to the character of the leading men, and the chance of circumſtances. Theſe political diſſentions occaſioned much bloodſhed.

THE kingdom was exhauſted by inteſtine wars, which had laſted two hundred years, when Henry VII. aſſumed the reins of government on the deciſion of a battle, in which the nation, divided into two camps, had fought to give itſelf a maſter. That able prince availed himſelf of the ſtate of depreſſion into which a ſeries of calamities had ſunk

his ſubjects, to extend the regal authority, the limits of which, the anarchy of the feudal government, though continually encroaching upon them, had never been able to fix. He was aſſiſted in this undertaking by the faction which had placed the crown upon his head, and which, being the weakeſt, could not hope to maintain itſelf in the principal employments to which thoſe who were engaged in it had been raiſed, unleſs they ſupported the ambition of their leader. This plan was ſtrengthened by permitting the nobility for the firſt time to alienate their lands. This dangerous indulgence, joined to a taſte for luxury, which then began to prevail in Europe, brought on a great revolution in the fortunes of individuals. The immenſe fiefs of the barons were gradually diſſipated, and the eſtates of the commoners increaſed.

The rights belonging to the ſeveral eſtates being divided with the property of them, it became ſo much the more difficult to unite the will and the power of many againſt the authority of one. The monarchs took advantage of this period, ſo favourable to their ambition, to govern without controul. The decayed nobility were in fear of a power which they had reinforced with all their loſſes. The commons thought themſelves ſufficiently honoured by the privilege of impoſing all the national taxes. The people, in ſome degree eaſed of their yoke by this ſlight alteration in the conſtitution, and whoſe circle of ideas is always confined to buſineſs or labour, became tired of ſeditions, from the deſolation and miſeries which were the conſequence

quence and the puniſhment of them. So that, while the nation was employed in ſearch of that ſovereign authority which had been loſt in the confuſion of civil wars, its views were fixed upon the monarch alone. The majeſty of the throne, the whole luſtre of which was centered in him, ſeemed to be the ſource of that authority, of which it ſhould only be the viſible ſign and permanent inſtrument.

SUCH was the ſituation of England, when James I. was called thither from Scotland, as being ſole heir to the two kingdoms, which, by his acceſſion, were united under one head. A turbulent nobility, imparting their fury to their barbarous vaſſals, had kindled the fire of ſedition in thoſe northern mountains which divided the iſland into two diſtinct ſtates. The monarch had from his earlieſt years been as averſe from limited authority, as the people were from deſpotiſm and abſolute monarchy, which then prevailed all over Europe; and as the new king was equal to other ſovereigns, it was natural that he ſhould be ambitious of the ſame power. His predeceſſors had enjoyed it even in England for a century paſt. But he was not aware that they owed it to their own political abilities, or to favourable circumſtances. This religious prince, who believed he held all from God and nothing from men, fancied that ſtrength of reaſon, wiſdom, and counſel, was centered in himſelf, and ſeemed to arrogate to himſelf that infallibility of which the pope had been deprived by the reformation, the tenets of which he adopted though he diſliked

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them. Theſe falſe principles, which tended to change government into a myſtery of religion, the more odious, as it equally influences the opinions, wills, and actions of men, were ſo rooted in his mind, together with all the other prejudices of a bad education, that he did not even think of ſupporting them with any of the human aids of prudence or force.

NOTHING could be more repugnant to the general diſpoſition of the people than this ſyſtem. All was in commotion both at home and abroad. The diſcovery of America had haſtened the advancement of Europe. Navigation extended round the whole globe. The mutual intercourſe of nations would ſoon have removed prejudices, and opened the door to induſtry and knowledge. The mechanical and liberal arts were extended, and were advancing to perfection by the luxury that prevailed. Literature acquired the ornaments of taſte; and the ſciences gained that degree of ſolidity which ſprings from a ſpirit of calculation and commerce. The circle of politics was extended. This univerſal ferment exalted the ideas of men. The ſeveral bodies which compoſed the monſtrous coloſſus of gothic government, rouzed from that lethargic ſtate of ignorance in which they had been ſunk for many ages, ſoon began to exert themſelves on all ſides, and to form enterpriſes. On the continent, where mercenary troops had been adopted under pretence of maintaining diſcipline, moſt princes acquired an unlimited authority, oppreſſing their ſubjects either by force or intrigue. In England,

England, the love of liberty, ſo natural to every thinking man, excited in the people by the authors of religious innovations, and awakened in the minds of men enlightened by becoming converſant with the great writers of antiquity, who derived from their democratic government that ſublimity of reaſon and ſentiment by which they are diſtinguiſhed; this love of liberty kindled in every generous breaſt the utmoſt abhorrence for unlimited authority. The aſcendant which Elizabeth found means to acquire and to preſerve by an uninterrupted proſperity of forty years, withheld this impatience, or turned it to enterpriſes that were beneficial to the ſtate. But no ſooner did another branch aſcend the throne, and the ſcepter devolved to a monarch, who, by the very violence of his pretenſions, was not much to be dreaded, than the nation aſſerted its rights, and entertained the ambitious thoughts of governing itſelf.

It was at this period that warm diſputes aroſe between the court and the parliament. Both powers ſeemed to be making trial of their ſtrength by continual oppoſition. The prince pretended that an entire paſſive obedience was due to him; and that national aſſemblies were only ornaments, not the baſis of the conſtitution. The citizens loudly exclaimed againſt theſe principles, always weak when they come to be diſcuſſed; and maintained, that the people were an eſſential part of government, as well as the monarch, and, perhaps, in a higher degree. The one is the matter, the other the form. Now the form may, and muſt change, for

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for the preſervation of the matter. The ſupreme law is the welfare of the people, not that of the prince; the king may die, the monarchy may be at an end; and ſociety ſubſiſt without either monarch or throne. In this manner the Engliſh reaſoned at the dawn of liberty. They quarrelled, they oppoſed, and threatened each other. James died in the midſt of theſe debates, leaving his ſon to diſcuſs his rights, with the reſolution of extending them.

THE experience of all ages has ſhewn, that the ſtate of tranquillity which follows the eſtabliſhment of abſolute power, occaſions a coolneſs in the minds of the people, damps their courage, cramps their genius, and throws a whole nation into an univerſal lethargy. On the contrary, the commotion of a conſtitution tending to liberty is irregular and rapid; it is a continued fever, more or leſs violent; but always attended with convulſions.

ENGLAND experienced this in the beginning of the reign of Charles I.; who, though not ſo great a pedant as his father, was equally fond of authority. The diviſion which had begun between the king and the parliament, ſpread itſelf throughout the nation. The higheſt claſs of the nobility, and the ſecond, which was the richeſt, afraid of being confounded with the vulgar, engaged on the ſide of the king, from whom they derived that borrowed luſtre which they return him by a voluntary and venal bondage. As they ſtill poſſeſſed moſt of the conſiderable land-eſtates, they engaged almoſt all the country people in their party; who

naturally love the king, becauſe they think he muſt love them. London, and all the great towns, inſpired by municipal government with the republican ſpirit, declared for the parliament, and drew along with them the trading part of the nation, who, valuing themſelves as much as the merchants in Holland, aſpired to the ſame freedom as that democracy.

THESE diviſions brought on the ſharpeſt, the moſt bloody, and the moſt obſtinate civil war ever recorded in hiſtory. Never did the Engliſh ſpirit ſhew itſelf in ſo dreadful a manner. Every day exhibited freſh ſcenes of violence, which ſeemed to have been already carried to the higheſt exceſs; and theſe again were outdone by others, ſtill more atrocious. It ſeemed as if the nation was juſt upon the brink of deſtruction, and that every Briton had ſworn to bury himſelf under the ruins of his country.

By what men the Britiſh iſlands were peopled.

IN this general tumult, the moſt moderate ſought for a peaceable retreat in the American iſlands, which the Engliſh had lately ſeized upon. The tranquillity they found there, induced others to follow them. While the ſedition was ſpreading in the mother-country, the colonies grew up and were peopled. The patriots who had fled from faction were ſoon after joined by the royaliſts, who were oppreſſed by the republican party, which had at laſt prevailed.

BOTH theſe were followed by thoſe reſtleſs and ſpirited men, whoſe ſtrong paſſions inſpire them with great deſires and vaſt projects; who deſpiſe dangers,

dangers, hazards and fatigues, and wiſh to ſee no other end to them but death or fortune; who know of no medium between affluence and want; equally ready to overturn or to ſerve their country, to lay it waſte or to enrich it.

The iſlands were alſo the refuge of merchants who had been unfortunate in trade, or of perſons reduced by their creditors to a ſtate of indigence and idleneſs. Unable as they were to fulfil their engagements, this very misfortune paved the way to their proſperity. After a few years they returned with affluence into their own country, and met with the higheſt reſpect in thoſe very places from whence they had been baniſhed with ignominy and contempt.

This reſource was ſtill more neceſſary for young people, who in the firſt tranſports of youth had been drawn into exceſſes of debauchery and licentiouſneſs. If they had not quitted their country, ſhame and diſgrace, which never fail to depreſs the mind, would have prevented them from recovering either regularity of manners or public eſteem. But in another country, where the experience they had of vice might prove a leſſon of wiſdom, and where they had no occaſion to attempt to remove any unfavourable impreſſions, they found, after their misfortunes, a harbour in which they reſted with ſafety. Their induſtry made amends for their paſt follies; and men who had left Europe like vagabonds, and who had diſgraced it, returned honeſt men, and uſeful members of ſociety.

All

ALL theſe ſeveral coloniſts had at their diſpoſal, for the clearing and tilling of their lands, the moſt profligate ſet of men of the three kingdoms, who had deſerved death for capital crimes; but who, from motives of humanity and good policy, were ſuffered to live and to work for the benefit of the ſtate. Theſe malefactors, who were tranſported for a term of years, which they were to ſpend in ſlavery, became induſtrious, and acquired manners, which placed them once more in the way of fortune. There were ſome of thoſe, who, when reſtored to ſociety by the freedom they had gained, became planters, heads of families, and the owners of the beſt plantations; a proof how much it is for the intereſt of a civilized ſociety to admit this lenity in the penal laws, ſo conformable to human nature, which is frail, but capable of ſenſibility, and of turning from evil to good.

Under what form of government the Britiſh iſlands were eſtabliſhed.

THE mother-country, however, was too much taken up with its own domeſtic diſſenſions, to think of giving laws to the iſlands under its dominion; and the coloniſts were not ſufficiently enlightened to draw up ſuch a ſyſtem of legiſlation as was fit for an infant ſociety. While the civil war was rectifying the government in England, the colonies, juſt emerging from a ſtate of infancy, formed their own conſtitution upon the model of the mother-country. In each of theſe ſeparate ſettlements, a chief repreſents the king; a council the peers; and the deputies of the ſeveral diſtricts, the commons. The general aſſembly enacts laws, regulates taxes, and judges of the adminiſtration.

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The executive part belongs to the governor; who alſo occaſionally determines upon cauſes which have not been tried before, but in conjunction with the council, and by the majority of votes. Though the members of this body derive their rank from him, they will not ſuffer him to bribe their votes, for fear of expoſing themſelves to the reſentment of the general aſſembly, which has the ſole power of removing them.

GREAT-BRITAIN, to reconcile her own intereſts with the freedom of her colonies, took care that no laws ſhould be enacted there which were inconſiſtent with her own. The governors ſhe ſends thither to command in her name, ſwear before they go, that they will not ſuffer the leaſt infringement of this fundamental maxim. This oath muſt prevent the commanders from betraying the mother-country to favour the iſlands; which, as they are to pay the governor's ſalary, might otherwiſe make his compliance the meaſure of their liberality.

ON the other hand, this kind of dependence checks the governor's pride, and prevents him from becoming tyrannical. The commiſſioners for the plantations have frequently in parliament attacked a prerogative that has reſtrained their authority. Regardleſs of the inconveniences that might attend it, the parliament has always adhered to this wiſe regulation. Juſtly dreading that ſpirit of rapaciouſneſs which induces men to croſs the ſeas, they have ſubjected the placemen, who ſhould violate the laws of the colonies, to the ſame penalties

as

as are inflicted in England on thoſe who treſpaſs upon national liberty.

THESE precautions were not thought ſufficient for the ſafety of the coloniſts, whom the nation cheriſhes and protects as her children's children. Every colony has one or more deputies in the mother-country. Their functions are important. They are deſigned to prevent the abuſe of power in the governors; to ſolicit the legiſlative body for the improvement and defence of the ſettlements, whoſe rights and wants they repreſent; and to combine the particular intereſt of the trade of the colonies with the general welfare of the nation. Theſe agents do the ſame thing at London as the repreſentatives of the people do in parliament. They plead the cauſe of thoſe diſtant provinces. Unhappy will it be for the ſtate, if ever it ſhould diſregard the clamours of the repreſentatives, whoever they are. The counties in England would riſe; the colonies would ſhake off their allegiance in America; the treaſures of both worlds would be loſt to an iſland which nature has made ſovereign of the ſea.

UNDER what milder and wiſer government could Engliſhmen live; who from the American iſlands are attached to their own country by the ties of blood, and by thoſe of neceſſity? And, indeed, the coloniſts eſtabliſhed upon theſe foreign ſhores are conſtantly looking up to their mother-country, who is ever attentive to their preſervation. One might ſay, that, as the eagle who never loſes ſight of the neſt where ſhe foſters her young,

London

London ſeems to look down upon her colonies, and to ſee them grow up and proſper under her tender care. Her numberleſs veſſels, covering an extent of two thouſand leagues with their proud ſails, form as it were a bridge over the ocean, and carry on an uninterrupted communication between both worlds. With good laws, which maintain what ſhe has once eſtabliſhed, ſhe preſerves her poſſeſſions abroad without a ſtanding army, which is always an oppreſſive and ruinous burden. Two very ſmall corps fixed at Antigua and Jamaica, are ſufficient for a nation that can at any time tranſport troops wherever they may be wanted.

By theſe beneficent regulations, dictated by humanity and ſound policy, the Engliſh iſlands ſoon grew happy, though not rich. Their culture was confined to tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo. Some of the enterpriſing coloniſts imported ſugar-canes from Brazil, and they multiplied prodigiouſly, but to no great purpoſe. They were ignorant of the art of managing this valuable plant, and drew from it ſuch indifferent ſugar, that it would not ſell in Europe, or ſold at the loweſt price. A ſeries of voyages to Fernambucca taught them how to make uſe of the treaſure they had carried off; and the Portugueſe, who till then had engroſſed all the ſugar trade, found, in 1650, in an ally, whoſe induſtry they thought precarious, a rival who was one day to ſupplant them.

The mother-country, however, had but a very ſmall ſhare in the proſperity of her colonies. They themſelves ſent their own commodities directly to all

all parts of the world, where they thought they would be diſpoſed of to moſt advantage; and indiſcriminately admitted ſhips of all nations into their ports. This unlimited freedom muſt of courſe throw almoſt all their trade into the hands of that nation which, in conſequence of the low intereſt their money bears, the largeneſs of their ſtock, the number of their ſhips, and the reaſonableneſs of their duties of import and export, could afford to make the beſt terms, to buy at the deareſt, and ſell at the cheapeſt rate. Theſe people were the Dutch. They united all the advantages of a ſuperior army; which, being ever maſter of the field, is free in all its operations. They ſoon ſeized upon the profits of ſo many productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered. Ten of their ſhips were ſeen in the Britiſh iſlands to one Engliſh veſſel.

THE nation had paid little attention to this evil during the diſturbances of the civil wars; but as ſoon as theſe troubles were compoſed, and the ſtate reſtored to tranquillity by the very violence of its commotions, it began to turn its views towards its foreign poſſeſſions. It perceived that thoſe ſubjects, who had as it were taken refuge in America, would be loſt to the ſtate, if foreign powers, which conſumed the fruits of the induſtry of the colonies, were not excluded. The diſcuſſion of this point brought on the famous navigation act in 1651, which excluded all foreign ſhips from entering the harbours of the Engliſh iſlands, and conſequently obliged their produce to be exported directly to the

countries under the dominion of England. The government, though aware of the inconveniences of ſuch an excluſion, was not alarmed at it, but conſidered the empire only as a tree, whoſe ſap muſt be turned back to the trunk, when it flows too freely to ſome of the branches.

It was, however, a fortunate circumſtance for England, that this reſtraining law could not then be enforced in its utmoſt rigour. A kind of negligence in the execution of it, allowed time for the colonies to increaſe their ſugar plantations, by the ready ſale they found for their ſugars, which enabled them inſenſibly to raiſe themſelves upon the ruin of the Portugueſe. Theſe plantations made ſuch rapid progreſs in the ſpace of nine years, that in 1660, when it was judged that the law might ſafely be put in execution in its utmoſt ſtrictneſs, the Engliſh were already maſters of the ſugar-trade all over Europe; except in the Mediterranean, which had continued faithful to their competitors, on account of the act of re-exportation, which had been occaſioned by the navigation act. It is true, in order to attain this ſuperiority, they had been obliged greatly to lower the price of the commodity; but their plentiful crops made them ample amends for this neceſſary ſacrifice. If other nations were encouraged by their ſucceſs to raiſe plantations, at leaſt for their own conſumption, the Engliſh opened other markets, which ſupplied the place of the former. The only misfortune they experienced in a long ſeries of years, was, the ſeeing many of their cargoes taken by French

French privateers, and ſold at a low price. The planter ſuſtained by this a double inconvenience, that of loſing part of his ſugars, and being obliged to ſell the remainder below its value.

In what manner the proſperity of the Britiſh iſlands declined.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe tranſient piracies, which always ceaſed in time of peace, the plantations ſtill continued to increaſe in the Engliſh iſlands. It appears from entries which are ſaid to be exact, that, about the year 1680, they ſent annually to Europe 30,000 hogſheads of ſugar, each containing twelve hundred weight. Their exports, from 1708 to 1718, were of 53,439 annually; from 1718 to 1727, they roſe to 68,931, and the ſix following years to 93,889. But from 1733 to 1737 they fell to 75,695; and the following years they amounted regularly to 70,000 hogſheads.

IF we inquire into the cauſe of this diminution, we ſhall find it was owing to France. This kingdom, which, from its ſituation, and from the active genius of its inhabitants, ſhould be foremoſt in every undertaking, is ſo reſtrained by the nature of its government, that it is the laſt in becoming acquainted with its own advantages and intereſts. The French firſt procured their ſugars from the Engliſh; from whom they afterwards received their informations. They made ſome at firſt for their own conſumption, and began exporting it in 1716. The ſuperiority of their ſoil, the advantage of freſh lands, the frugality of their planters, who were yet poor, all conſpired to enable them to ſell the production at a lower price than their competitors. This advantage, the moſt im-

portant one that can be acquired in trade, obtained them the preference in all the markets. As their produce increaſed, that of their rivals was rejected becauſe it was dearer. The decay was ſo rapid, that a nation which had ſupplied all Europe with ſugars, and ſtill ſold 19,202 hogſheads to foreigners in 1719, ſold no more than 7,715 in 1733, 5,211 in 1737, and none at all in 1740.

The Engliſh iſlands had begun to complain long before this revolution was completed. They had applied to parliament as early as the year 1731, to engage them to prevent the ruin of a trade that was already loſt. Their petitions were at firſt diſregarded. Moſt people were of opinion that the lands in the colonies were exhauſted; and the parliament itſelf had adopted this prejudice; not conſidering, that though the ſoil was not altogether ſo luxuriant as freſh grounds, yet it ſtill retained that degree of fertility which it ſeldom loſes when conſtantly cultivated, unleſs it is materially injured by ſome accidental calamity. But when it was made evident, from eſtimates laid before the houſe, that the laſt crops had been more plentiful than the former, the parliament began to attend to the method of reſtoring this ſource of public fortune.

The political œconomy of commerce conſiſts in ſelling cheaper than one's rivals. This the Engliſh iſlands were able to do, before the mother-country, in 1663, had appropriated to herſelf a duty of four and a half per cent. upon all ſugars brought from Barbadoes, which ſoon extended to thoſe of the other

other ſettlements. The great plenty of the commodity, however, prevented their ſinking immediately under this oppreſſion. But, the neceſſities of the colonies having ſince compelled them to burden themſelves with freſh taxes, they were no longer able to withſtand a competition which grew every day more formidable; and they evidently ſaw themſelves ſupplanted in all parts. Poſſibly they might have been reſcued from this deplorable ſituation, by ſuppreſſing the duty of four and a half per cent. and by ſacrificing to their local adminiſtration the enormous duties their commodities pay on their entry into Great-Britain; but her great expences, and her heavy national debt, would not certainly admit of this generoſity; and the government thought it was ſufficiently liberal to the colonies, when it allowed them the liberty, in 1739, to ſend their ſugars directly to all the ports of Europe. This conceſſion, which was contrary to the navigation act, proved ineffectual. The French maintained their ſuperiority in all the markets; and the Engliſh colonies were reduced to ſupply ſugars merely for the conſumption of the Britiſh dominions, which did not exceed 12,000 hogſheads at the beginning of this century; and which, in 1755, had amounted to 70,000.

Settlement of the Engliſh at Barbadoes.

ENGLAND was beholden for this produce to her ancient poſſeſſions in the Weſt-Indies. The iſland of Barbadoes, which is ſituated to windward of all the others, appeared to have never been inhabited, not even by ſavages, when ſome Engliſhmen from St. Chriſtopher's went and ſettled there in 1629.

They found it covered with ſuch large and hard trees, that it required uncommon reſolution and patience to fell them and root them up. The ground was ſoon cleared of this incumbrance, or ſtripped of this ornament: for it is doubtful whether nature does not decorate her own work better than man, who alters every thing for himſelf alone. Some patriots, tired of ſeeing the blood of their countrymen ſpilt, went and peopled this foreign land. While the other colonies were rather ravaged than cultivated by thoſe vagabonds who had been driven from their native country by poverty or licentiouſneſs, Barbadoes daily received new inhabitants; who brought along with them not only their ſtock of money, but a turn for labour, courage, activity, and ambition; thoſe vices and virtues which are the effects of civil wars.

By theſe means, an iſland, which is no more than eight leagues long and four broad, attained to a population of a hundred thouſand ſouls; and a trade that employed four hundred ſhips of 150 tons burthen each. Such was the ſtate of its proſperity in 1676, the period of its utmoſt greatneſs. Never had the earth beheld ſuch a number of planters collected in ſo ſmall a compaſs, or ſo many rich productions raiſed in ſo ſhort a time. The labours, directed by Europeans, were performed by ſlaves purchaſed in Africa, or even raiſed in America. This unwarrantable method of procuring them was but a ruinous kind of prop for a new edifice, and very nearly occaſioned the ſubverſion of it.

Some Engliſhmen, who had landed on the coaſts of the continent to get ſlaves, were diſcovered by the Caribs, who were the object of their ſearch. Theſe ſavages fell upon them, and put them all to death or to flight. A young man, who had been long purſued, ran into a wood; where an Indian woman meeting him ſaved his life, concealed and fed him, and ſome time after conducted him to the ſea-ſide. His companions were laying at anchor there, waiting for the men they miſſed, and ſent the boat to fetch him. His deliverer inſiſted on following him on board the ſhip. They were no ſooner landed at Barbadoes, but the monſter ſold her who had ſaved his life, and had beſtowed her heart as well as her perſon upon him. To vindicate the honour of the Engliſh nation, one of her poets has recorded this ſhocking inſtance of avarice and perfidy, to be abhorred by poſterity: it has been told in ſeveral languages, and held out to the deteſtation of all foreign nations.

The Indians, who dared not undertake to revenge themſelves, imparted their reſentment to the negroes, who had ſtronger motives, if poſſible, for hating the Engliſh. The ſlaves unanimouſly vowed the death of their tyrants. This conſpiracy was carried on with ſuch ſecreſy, that, the day before it was to have been carried into execution, the colony had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. But, as if generoſity was always to be the virtue of the wretched, one of the leaders of the plot informed his maſter of it. Letters were immediately diſpatched to all the plantations, and came in time to prevent the impending deſtruction. The following

night the ſlaves were ſeized in their huts; the moſt guilty were executed at break of day; and this act of ſeverity reduced the reſt to obedience.

They have never revolted ſince, and yet the exportations do not amount to one half of what they formerly were. This revolution had been brought on by the extravagance of the inhabitants; by contagious diſtempers; by hurricanes; by the emigration of many who are gone over to other iſlands, or to the continent of North-America; by the waſte of the land, and the neceſſity of manuring it; and, laſtly, by the competition of a rival nation, which has been ſo fortunate as to meet with a better ſoil.

At this preſent time there are at Barbadoes no more than 30,000 ſlaves, who are employed in manuring the ground with varech, a ſea-weed which the tide throws on ſhore. It is in this varech that the ſugar-canes are planted. The earth has little more to do with the growing of them, than the tubs in which orange-trees are planted in Europe. The whole produce of this laborious proceſs is no more than 15,000 hogſheads of raw ſugar. They are conveyed to England, where they are ſold for about 6,750,000 livres *. The ſpirits, which may amount to 800,000 livres †, are all ſent to North-America.

Barbadoes is the only trading colony belonging to the Engliſh in the windward iſlands. Almoſt all the ſhips laden with ſlaves, that come from the coaſt of Africa, land there. If they cannot

* 295,312l. 2s. † 35,000l.

ſell

ſell their negroes at a good price, they go to ſome other place; but it ſeldom happens that they do not diſpoſe of them at Barbadoes. The uſual price of ſlaves is from eight to nine hundred livres*, according to the nation or tribe they belong to. In this bargain no diſtinction is ever made of age or ſex; but the whole cargo together ſells at ſo much a head. The payments are made in bills of exchange upon London at ninety days ſight.

THESE negroes, which the merchants have bought by wholeſale, they retail on this very iſland, or in ſome other of the Engliſh iſlands. The refuſe is ſmuggled into the Spaniſh or French iſlands. By this traffic five or ſix millions of livres † were formerly circulated in Barbadoes; the ſpecie that is ſtill to be found there, but in ſmaller quantities, is all foreign; it is looked upon as a commodity, and is only valued by the weight. The ſhipping properly belonging to this ſettlement, conſiſts of a ſufficient number of veſſels for their ſeveral correſpondences, and about forty ſloops employed in the fiſhery of the flying-fiſh. Nature and art have conſpired to fortify this iſland. Two thirds of its circumference are rendered inacceſſible by dangerous rocks; and on the ſide that is open lines have been drawn, which are defended at proper diſtances by forts, provided with a formidable artillery. So that Barbadoes is ſtill in a condition to command reſpect in time of war, and to claim the attention of its neighbours in time of peace. It affords a ſolid foundation for the richeſt of all cultures, a convenient mart for the ſlave trade, a larger pro-

* About 37l. on an average. † About 240,500l. on an average.

portion

BOOK XIV.

portion of revenue, of population, of commerce, and of forces, than could reaſonably be expected from an iſland of ſuch inconſiderable extent, eſpecially when compared to other neighbouring iſlands. Antigua, which is almoſt as large, neither enjoys the ſame advantages, nor is of the ſame importance.

Settlement of the Engliſh at Antigua.

THIS iſland, which is but twenty miles long, but of conſiderable breadth, was found totally uninhabited by thoſe few Frenchmen who fled thither in 1629, upon being driven from St. Chriſtopher's by the Spaniards. The want of ſprings, which doubtleſs was the reaſon why no ſavages had ſettled there, induced theſe fugitives to return as ſoon as they could regain their former habitations. Some Engliſhmen, more enterprizing than either the French or the Caribs, flattered themſelves that they ſhould overcome this great obſtacle, by collecting the rain-water in ciſterns; and they therefore ſettled there. The year in which this ſettlement was begun is not exactly known; but it appears, that in January 1640 there were about thirty families on the iſland.

THE number was not much increaſed, when king Charles II. granted the property of this iſland to lord Willoughby, as his father had given that of Barbadoes to the earl of Carliſle. His lordſhip ſent over a pretty conſiderable number of inhabitants at his own expence in 1666. It is probable they would never have enriched themſelves by the culture of tobacco, indigo, and ginger, the only commodities they dealt in, had not colonel Cod-

rington

rington introduced into the iſland, which was then reſtored to the dominion of the ſtate, a ſource of wealth, in the year 1680, by the culture of ſugar. This being at firſt black, harſh, and coarſe, was rejected in England, and could only be diſpoſed of in Holland, and in the Hans towns; where it ſold at a much lower price than that of the other colonies. By the moſt aſſiduous labour, art got the better of nature, and brought this ſugar to as great a perfection, and to ſell for as high a price, as any other. The iſland yields 8000 hogſheads, the only fruit of the labours of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand blacks.

THE abuſe of authority, ſo common in moſt nations, but ſo rare among the Engliſh, was ſeverely felt at Antigua, and did not go unpuniſhed. The governor, colonel Park, in defiance of the laws, and regardleſs of morals or decorum, indulged himſelf in the moſt unbounded acts of licentiouſneſs. The members of the council, unable to put a ſtop to exceſſes which they abhorred, ſummoned the coloniſts in 1710 to protect their repreſentatives, to defend the fortunes of the public, and to put an end to ſo many calamities. Upon this they immediately took up arms. The tyrant was attacked in his own houſe, and maſſacred. His body was then thrown naked into the ſtreet, and mutilated by thoſe whoſe bed he had diſhonoured. The mother-country, more moved by the ſacred rights of nature than jealous of her own authority, overlooked an act which her vigilance ought to have prevented, but which ſhe was too

equi-

equitable to revenge. It is only the part of tyranny to excite a rebellion, and then to quench it in the blood of the oppreſſed. Machiavéliſm, which teaches princes the art of being feared and deteſted, directs them to ſtifle the victims whoſe cries grow importunate. Humanity preſcribes to kings, juſtice in legiſlation, mildneſs in government, lenity to prevent inſurrections, and mercy to pardon them. Religion enjoys obedience to the people; but God, above all things, requires equity in princes. If they violate it, innumerable witneſſes will riſe up againſt a ſingle man at the final judgment. The American iſlands have ſometimes avenged the authority of kings and the rights of the people upon iniquitous governors, who, by a double treachery, proſtituted the king's name to oppreſs a nation. Antigua will be celebrated in hiſtory for this terrible example of juſtice. This iſland is, however, too confined; but that of Montſerrat is ſtill leſs conſiderable.

Settlement of the Engliſh at Montſerrat.

THE Spaniards diſcovered this iſland in 1493. They did not ſettle there, but gave it the name of a mountain in Catalonia, which it reſembles in ſhape. It is almoſt round, and about nine leagues in circumference. The ground is very uneven, full of barren hills, and vallies fertilized by the waters. The Engliſh, who landed there in 1632, were not ſatisfied with diſturbing the peace of the many ſavages who dwelt there, but drove them all away. This cruelty was not productive of the advantages expected from it. The progreſs of the colony

colony was but ſlow, and it acquired no kind of importance till towards the end of the century.

At this period a ſpirit of univerſal exertion diſplayed itſelf; which, however, could not be accounted for from any particular cauſe. The leſs important cultures, which ſcarce afforded a ſcanty proviſion of common neceſſaries, were all changed for ſugar plantations. Five thouſand hogſheads are now annually made by ten thouſand ſlaves; though ſeveral misfortunes, occaſioned either by war or by the elements, have, from time to time, diſappointed the induſtry of the planters. The loading and unloading of ſhips is difficult in an iſland which has not one good road. They would even be in danger upon the coaſts, if the maſters did not take care, when they ſee a ſtorm approaching, to put out to ſea, or to take ſhelter in ſome neighbouring harbour. Nevis is expoſed to the ſame inconvenience.

Settlement of the Engliſh at Nevis.

The moſt generally received opinion is, that the Engliſh ſettled on this iſland in 1628. It is properly but a very high mountain, of an eaſy aſcent, and crowned with tall trees. The plantations lie all round; and, beginning at the ſea-ſide, are continued almoſt to the top of the mountain; but the higher they ſtand the leſs fertile they are, becauſe the ſoil grows more ſtony. This iſland is watered by many ſtreams, which would be ſo many ſources of plenty, if they did not in ſtormy weather ſwell into torrents, waſh away the lands, and deſtroy the treaſures they have produced.

BOOK XIV.

The colony of Nevis is a model of virtue, order, and piety. Theſe exemplary manners have been owing to the paternal care of the firſt governor. This incomparable man inſpired all the inhabitants, by his own example, with a love of labour, a reaſonable œconomy, and innocent recreations. All the plantations, eſpecially thoſe of ſugar, were ſucceſsfully encouraged. The perſon who commanded, and thoſe who obeyed, were all actuated by the ſame principle of the ſtricteſt equity. Never was there an inſtance of greater harmony, peace, and ſecurity. So rapid was the progreſs of this ſingular ſettlement, that, if we may credit all the accounts of thoſe times, it ſoon contained 10,000 white people and 20,000 blacks. Admitting even that ſuch a population within the compaſs of ſix leagues ſhould be exaggerated, ſtill it will ſhew the amazing but infallible effect of virtue, in promoting the proſperity of a well-regulated ſociety.

But, even virtue itſelf will not ſecure either individuals or ſocieties from the calamities of nature, or from the injuries of fortune. In 1689 a dreadful mortality ſwept away half this happy colony. It was ravaged in 1706 by a French ſquadron, which carried off three or four thouſand ſlaves. The next year, the ruin of this iſland was completed by the moſt violent hurricane ever recorded. Since this ſeries of diſaſters, it has recovered a little; and at this day contains 8000 blacks, and produces 4000 hogſheads of ſugar. Perhaps, thoſe who repine moſt at the deſtruction

of the Americans, and the ſlavery of the Africans, would receive ſome conſolation if the Europeans were every where as humane as the Engliſh have been in this iſland of Nevis, and if all the iſlands in America were as well cultivated in proportion; but nature and ſociety afford few inſtances of ſuch miraculous proſperity.

ENGLAND draws no productions from Barbuda, Anguilla, or the Virgin iſlands. Four thouſand inhabitants, half freemen, and half ſlaves, ſcattered about theſe miſerable ſettlements, breed ſome cattle, and cultivate ſome few proviſions, which they ſell in the neighbouring colonies. Their poverty does not prevent them from enjoying the benefit of a free and ſeparate government; yet the chief of theſe iſlands, as alſo of Antigua, Montſerrat, and Nevis, is only the deputy of a governor-general, who reſides at St. Chriſtopher's.

Settlement of the Engliſh at St. Chriſtopher's.

SAINT CHRISTOPHER'S was the nurſery of all the Engliſh and French colonies in America. Both nations arrived there on the ſame day in 1625. They ſhared the iſland between them; ſigned a perpetual neutrality, and entered into a mutual engagement to aſſiſt each other againſt their common enemy the Spaniard, who for a century paſt had invaded or diſturbed the two hemiſpheres. But jealouſy ſoon divided thoſe whom intereſt had united. The French grew envious of the proſperous labours of the Engliſh; who, on their ſide, could not patiently bear that an idle neighbour, whoſe only employment was hunting and gallantry, ſhould be trying to rob them of their wives. This

reciprocal

reciprocal uneaſineſs ſoon created quarrels, war, and devaſtations, though neither of the parties aimed at conqueſt. Theſe were only domeſtic animoſities, in which government took no part. Concerns of greater importance having kindled a war between the two mother-countries in 1666, St. Chriſtopher's became a ſcene of carnage for half a century. The weaker party having been compelled to evacuate the colony, ſoon entered it again with a reinforcement, both to revenge their defeat and to repair their loſſes. This long conteſt, in which both parties alternately had the advantage, was terminated by the total expulſion of the French in 1702; and the peace of Utrecht cut off all their hopes of ever returning thither.

This was no great ſacrifice at that time, for a people who had never exerted themſelves otherwiſe in that colony than in hunting and carrying on war. Their population amounted but to 667 white people, of all ages and of both ſexes; 29 free blacks, and 659 ſlaves. All their herds conſiſted only of 265 head of horned cattle, and 157 horſes. They cultivated nothing but a little cotton and indigo, and had but one ſingle ſugar plantation.

Though the Engliſh had for a long time made a greater advantage of this iſland, yet they did not immediately reap all the benefit they might have done from having the ſole poſſeſſion of it.

This conqueſt was for a long time a prey to rapacious governors, who ſold the lands for their own profit, or gave them away to their creatures; though they could warrant the duration of the ſale, or grant,

grant, only during the term of their adminiſtration. The parliament of England at length remedied this evil, by ordering, that all lands ſhould be put up to auction, and the pur-chaſemoney paid into the public coffers. After this prudent regulation, the new plantations were as well cultivated as the old ones.

THE whole of the iſland may be about ſeventy miles in circumference. The center is full of high and barren mountains. Agreeable, neat and commodious habitations, adorned with avenues, fountains and groves, are diſperſed over the plains. The taſte for rural life, which the Engliſh have retained more than any other civilized nation in Europe, prevails in the higheſt degree at St. Chriſtopher's. They never had the leaſt occaſion to form themſelves into ſmall ſocieties in order to paſs away the time; and if the French had not left there a ſmall town, where their manners are preſerved, they would ſtill be unacquainted with that kind of ſocial life, which is productive of more altercations than pleaſures; which is kept up by gallantry, and terminates in debauchery; which begins with convivial joys, and ends in the quarrels of gaming. Inſtead of this image of union, which is in fact only a beginning of diſcord, the Engliſh planters live by themſelves, but live happy; their ſoul and countenance as ſerene as the clear ſky, under which they breathe a pure and wholeſome air in the midſt of their plantations, and ſurrounded with their ſlaves, whom they certainly govern with paternal tenderneſs, ſince they inſpire them

with generous, and ſometimes, heroic ſentiments. St. Chriſtopher's has afforded ſuch a ſignal inſtance of love and friendſhip as is not to be paralleled in fable or hiſtory.

Two negroes, both young, handſome, robuſt, courageous, and born with a ſoul of an uncommon caſt, had been fond of each other from their infancy. Partners in the ſame labours, they were united by their ſufferings; which, in feeling minds, form a ſtronger attachment than pleaſures. If they were not happy, they comforted each other at leaſt in their miſery. Love, which generally obliterates the remembrance of all misfortunes, ſerved only to make theirs complete. A negro girl, who was likewiſe a ſlave, and whoſe eyes ſparkled, no doubt, with greater vivacity and fire from the contraſt of her dark complexion, excited an equal flame in the hearts of theſe two friends. The girl, who was more capable of inſpiring than of feeling a ſtrong paſſion, would readily have accepted either; but neither of them would deprive his friend of her, or yield her up to him. Time ſerved only to increaſe the torments they ſuffered, without affecting their friendſhip or their love. Oftentimes did tears of anguiſh ſtream from their eyes, in the midſt of the demonſtrations of friendſhip they gave each other, at the ſight of the too-beloved object that threw them into deſpair. They ſometimes ſwore that they would love her no more, and that they would rather part with life than forfeit their friendſhip. The whole plantation was moved at the ſight of theſe conflicts. The love of the two friends

for

for the beautiful negro girl was the topic of every converſation.

One day they followed her into a wood; there, each embraced her, claſped her a thouſand times to his heart, ſwore all the oaths of attachment, and called her every tender name that love could inſpire; when ſuddenly, without ſpeaking or looking at each other, they both plunged a dagger into her breaſt. She expired, and they mingled their tears and groans with her laſt breath. They roared aloud, and made the wood reſound with their violent outcries. A ſlave came running to their aſſiſtance, and ſaw them at a diſtance, ſtifling the victim of their extraordinary paſſion with their kiſſes. He called out to ſome others, who ſoon came up, and found theſe two friends embracing each other upon the body of this unhappy girl, and bathed in her blood; while they themſelves were expiring in the ſtreams that flowed from their own wounds.

These lovers and theſe friends belonged to a body of 25,000 negroes, deſtined to furniſh Europe with twelve or thirteen thouſand hogſheads of ſugar. Is it then in the midſt of ſuch ſevere labours, and in ſo degrading a ſtation, that we ſee ſuch actions as muſt aſtoniſh the whole world? If there can be a man who is not ſtruck with horror and compaſſion at the greatneſs of this ferocious love, nature muſt have formed him, not for the ſlavery of the negroes, but for the tyranny of their maſters. Such a man muſt have lived without commiſerating others, and will die without comfort;

he muſt never have ſhed a tear, and none will ever be ſhed for him. But it is now time to quit St. Chriſtopher's, and paſs on to Jamaica.

The Engliſh drive the Spaniards from Jamaica, and ſettle themſelves there.

THIS iſland, which lies to lee-ward of the other Engliſh iſlands, and which geographers have ranked among the greater Antilles, is nearly of an oval figure, the greater diameter being 170 miles, and the leſs 70 at moſt. It is interſected with ſeveral ridges of high, craggy mountains, where dreadful rocks are heaped one upon another. Their barrenneſs does not prevent their being covered all over with a prodigious quantity of trees of different kinds, that ſtrike their roots through the clefts of the rocks, and attract the moiſture that is depoſited there by ſtorms and frequent fogs. This perpetual verdure, kept up and embelliſhed by a multitude of plentiful caſcades, makes a conſtant ſpring all the year round, and exhibits the moſt enchanting proſpect in nature. But theſe waters, which fall from the barren ſummits, and fertilize the plains below, are brackiſh and unwholeſome. This defect is happily compenſated by the ſalubrity of the air, which is the pureſt of any between the tropics in either hemiſphere.

COLUMBUS diſcovered this iſland in 1494, but made no ſettlement there. Eight years after, he was thrown upon it by a ſtorm. Having loſt his ſhips, and being unable to get away, he implored the humanity of the ſavages, who gave him all the aſſiſtance that natural pity ſuggeſts. But theſe people, who cultivated no more land than what was juſt ſufficient to ſupply their own wants, ſoon

grew

grew tired of ſupporting ſtrangers, to the manifeſt riſque of ſtarving themſelves, and inſenſibly withdrew from their neighbourhood. The Spaniards, who had already indiſpoſed the Indians againſt them by repeated acts of violence, grew outrageous, and proceeded ſo far as to take up arms againſt a chief whom they accuſed of too much ſeverity, becauſe he diſapproved of their ferocity. Columbus, forced to yield to their threats, in order to diſengage himſelf from ſo deſperate a ſituation, availed himſelf of one of thoſe natural phænomena, in which a man of genius may ſometimes find a reſource, which he may be excuſed for having recourſe to in a caſe of urgent neceſſity.

From the little knowledge he had acquired in aſtronomy, he knew there would ſoon be an eclipſe of the moon. He took advantage of this circumſtance, and ſummoned all the Caciques in the neighbourhood to come and hear ſomething that nearly concerned them, and was eſſential to their preſervation. He then ſtood up in the midſt of them, and having upbraided them with their barbarity, in leaving him and his companions to periſh for want, he addreſſed them in theſe words, which he pronounced with emphaſis as if he were inſpired: *To puniſh you for this, the God whom I worſhip is going to ſtrike you with his moſt terrible judgments. This very evening you will ſee the moon turn red, then grow dark and withhold her light from you. This will be only a prelude to your calamities, if you obſtinately perſiſt in refuſing to give us food.*

THE admiral had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when his prophecies were fulfilled. The ſavages were terrified beyond meaſure; they thought they were all loſt; they begged for mercy, and promiſed to do any thing they ſhould deſire. They were then told, that heaven, moved with their repentance, was appeaſed, and that nature was going to reſume her wonted courſe. From that moment, proviſions were ſent in from all quarters; and Columbus was never in want of any during the time he remained there.

IT was Don Diego, the ſon of this extraordinary man, who fixed the Spaniards at Jamaica. In 1509, he ſent thither ſeventy robbers from St. Domingo, under the command of John d'Eſquimel; and others ſoon followed. It ſeemed as if they all went over to this delightful and peaceable iſland, for no other purpoſe than to ſpill human blood. Thoſe barbarians never ſheathed their ſword while there was one inhabitant left to preſerve the memory of a numerous, good-natured, plain and hoſpitable people. It was happy for the earth, that theſe murderers were not to ſupply their place. They had no inclination to multiply in an iſland where no gold was to be found. Their cruelty did not anſwer the purpoſe of their avarice; and the earth, which they had drenched with blood, ſeemed to refuſe her aſſiſtance to ſecond the barbarous efforts they had made to fix there. Every ſettlement raiſed upon the aſhes of the natives grew unſucceſsful, when labour and deſpair had completed the deſtruction of the few ſavages who had eſcaped the fury

fury of the firſt conqueſts. That of St. Jago de la Vega was the only one that ſupported itſelf. The inhabitants of that town, plunged in idleneſs, the uſual conſequence of tyranny after devaſtation, were content with living upon the produce of ſome few plantations, and the overplus they ſold to the ſhips that paſſed by their coaſts. The whole population of the colony centered in the little ſpot that fed this race of deſtroyers, conſiſted of 1500 ſlaves, commanded by as many tyrants, when the Engliſh came and attacked the town, took it, and ſettled there in 1655.

The Engliſh brought the fatal ſources of diſcord along with them. At firſt, the new colony was only inhabited by three thouſand of that fanatical militia, which had fought and conquered under the ſtandards of the republican party. Theſe were ſoon followed by a multitude of royaliſts, who were in hopes of finding reſt and peace in America, or comfort after their defeat. The diviſions which had prevailed for ſo long a time and with ſo much violence between the two parties in Europe, followed them beyond the ſeas. One party inſolently triumphed in the protection of Cromwell, whom they had exalted upon the ruins of the throne: the other truſted to the governor of the iſland, who was himſelf a royaliſt in ſecret, though forced to bend under the authority that appointed him. This was ſufficient to have renewed in America the ſcenes of horror and bloodſhed which had ſo often been acted in England, had not Pen and Venables, the conquerors of Jamaica, given the command of

the iſland to the moſt prudent man among them, who happened to be the oldeſt officer. His name was Dudley, and he was a friend to the Stuarts. Twice did Cromwell appoint ſome of his own party in his ſtead, and Dudley was as often reſtored to his office by the death of his opponents.

THE conſpiracies that were forming againſt him were diſcovered and fruſtrated. He never ſuffered the ſmalleſt breach of diſcipline to go unpuniſhed; and always kept the balance even between the faction his heart deteſted, and the party he was attached to. He excited induſtry; and encouraged it by his attention, his advice, and his example. His authority was enforced by his diſintereſted behaviour. He never could be prevailed upon to accept of a ſalary, being content to live upon the produce of his own plantations. In private life, he was plain and familiar; in office, an intrepid warrior, a ſteady and ſtrict commander, and a wiſe politician. His manner of governing was altogether military, becauſe he was obliged to reſtrain or to regulate an infant colony, wholly compoſed of ſoldiers; and to prevent and repulſe any invaſion from the Spaniards, who might attempt to recover what they had loſt.

BUT when Charles II. was called to the crown, by the nation that had deprived his father of it, a form of civil government was eſtabliſhed at Jamaica, modelled, like thoſe of the other iſlands, upon that of the mother-country. The governor repreſented the king; the council the peers; and three depu-

ties

ties from each town, with two from every pariſh, conſtituted the commons. But the firſt exertions of this aſſembly were confined to a few temporary regulations, relative to the police, the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the finances, thrown together without any order. It was not till the year 1682 that the code of laws was drawn up, which to this day preſerves the colony in all its vigour. Three of theſe wiſe ſtatutes merit the attention of our political readers.

THE one, which provides for the defence of the country, warmly excites that very ſelf-intereſt which might divert individuals from attending to it. It is enacted, that whatever miſchief is done by the enemy, ſhall immediately be made good by the ſtate; or at the expence of all the ſubjects, if the money found in the treaſury ſhould prove inſufficient.

ANOTHER law concerns the means of increaſing population. It enacts, that every ſhip-captain who brings a man into the colony, who is unable to pay for his paſſage, ſhall receive a general gratuity of twenty-two livres ten ſols *. The particular gratuity is 168 livres fifteen ſols † for every perſon brought from England or Scotland; 135 livres ‡ for every perſon brought from Ireland; ſeventy-eight livres fifteen ſols ‖ for every perſon brought from the continent of America; and forty-five livres § for every perſon brought from the other iſlands.

* 19s. 8d. halfpenny.
† About 7l. 7s.
‡ 5l. 18s. 1d. halfpenny.
‖ About 3l. 8s. 11d.
§ 1l. 19s. 4d. halfpenny.

THE

The third law tends to the encouragement of agriculture. When a proprietor of land is unable to pay either the intereſt or capital of the money he has borrowed, his plantation is appraiſed by twelve planters who are his equals. The creditor is obliged to take the eſtate in full payment, though the appraiſement ſhould fall ſhort of the debt; but, if the value of the plantation exceeds the debt, he muſt then refund the overplus. This regulation, though it leaves room for partialities, furniſhes a compenſation for this evil, by the general good it produces of abating the rigour of the land-lord's and merchant's law-ſuits againſt the planter. The reſult of this diſpoſition is in favour of lands and men in general. The creditor is ſeldom a ſufferer, becauſe he is upon his guard; and the debtor is more obliged to be vigilant and honeſt, if he means to find credit. Confidence then becomes the baſis of all agreements; and confidence is only to be gained by the practice of virtue.

Jamaica has enriched itſelf by the illegal trade it has carried on with Spaniſh America.

The colony had already acquired ſome degree of fame before theſe ſalutary laws had ſecured her proſperity. Some adventurers, as well from hatred and national jealouſy, as from a reſtleſs diſpoſition and want of fortune, attacked the Spaniſh ſhips. Theſe pirates were ſeconded by Cromwell's ſoldiers, who, retaining nothing after his death, except that public averſion which their former ſucceſſes had drawn upon them, went into America in queſt of promotion, which they could never expect in Europe. Theſe were joined by a multitude of Engliſhmen of both parties, accuſtomed to blood by

by the civil wars which had ruined them. Theſe men, eager for rapine and carnage, plundered the ſeas, and ravaged the coaſts of America. Jamaica was the place where the ſpoils of Mexico and Peru were always brought by the Engliſh, and frequently by foreigners. They found in this iſland more eaſe, a better reception, protection, and freedom than any where elſe, whether for landing, or for ſpending as they pleaſed the ſpoils ariſing from their plunder. Here extravagance and debauchery ſoon plunged them again into indigence. This only incitement to their ſanguinary induſtry, made them haſten to commit freſh depredations. Thus the colony reaped the benefit of their perpetual viciſſitudes of fortune, and enriched itſelf by the vices which were both the ſource and the ruin of their wealth.

When this deſtructive race became extinct, by reaſon of the frequency of the murders they committed, the funds they had left behind, and which, indeed, had been taken from uſurpers ſtill more unjuſt and cruel than themſelves, proved a freſh ſource of opulence, by facilitating the means of opening a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements. This vein of riches continued increaſing; and eſpecially towards the end of the century. Some Portugueſe, with a capital of three millions *, of which the ſovereign had advanced two thirds, engaged, in 1696, to furniſh the ſubjects of the court of Madrid with 5000 blacks, each of the five years that their treaty was to laſt. This company drew

* About 131,250l.

drew a great many of thoſe ſlaves from Jamaica. From that time the coloniſts had conſtant connections with Mexico and Peru, either by means of the Portugueſe agents, or by the captains of their own ſhips employed in this trade. But this intercourſe was ſomewhat ſlackened by the war, which broke out on account of the ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain.

At the peace, the Aſſiento treaty alarmed the people of Jamaica. They were afraid that the South-Sea-company, which was appointed to furniſh the Spaniſh colonies with negroes, would entirely exclude them from all acceſs to the gold mines. All the efforts they made to break this regulation, could not produce any alteration in the meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry. They wiſely foreſaw that the activity of the Aſſientiſts would prove a freſh motive of emulation for increaſing the contraband trade formerly carried on. Theſe views were ſo juſt, that in 1739 it was the general opinion, that Jamaica had drawn fifteen hundred millions of livres * from the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies.

This illicit trade was carried on in a very ſimple manner. An Engliſh veſſel pretended to be in want of water, wood, or proviſions; that her maſt was broken, or that ſhe had ſprung a leak, which could not be diſcovered or ſtopped without unloading. The governor permitted the ſhip to come into the harbour to refit. But, for form ſake, and to diſculpate himſelf to his court, he ordered a ſeal to be affixed to the door of the warehouſe where

* 65,625,000 l.

where the goods were depoſited; while another door was left unſealed, through which the merchandiſe that was exchanged in this trade was carried in and out by ſtealth. When the whole tranſaction was ended, the ſtranger, who was always in want of money, requeſted that he might be permitted to ſell as much as would pay his charges; and this was always granted, though with an appearance of great difficulty. This farce was neceſſary, that the governor or his agents might ſafely diſpoſe in public of what they had previouſly bought in ſecret; as it would always be taken for granted, that what they ſold could be no other than the goods that were allowed to be bought. In this manner were the greateſt cargoes diſpoſed of.

The court of Madrid thought to put a ſtop to theſe practices, by prohibiting the admiſſion of all foreign ſhips into the Spaniſh harbours on any pretence whatever. But the people of Jamaica calling in force to the aſſiſtance of artifice, ſupported themſelves in this trade under the protection of the Engliſh men of war, allowing the captain five *per cent.* upon every article of which he authorized the ſmuggling between the ſubjects of both crowns, and contrary to their treaty; ſo true it is, that kings in vain enter into agreements that are inconſiſtent with the reciprocal intereſt of nations.

To this open violation of public order, has ſucceeded a more private and leſs alarming one. The ſhips diſpatched from Jamaica repair to thoſe ports of the Spaniſh coaſt which are leaſt frequented; eſpecially

ally to thoſe of Brew, five miles from Carthagena, and Grout, four miles from Porto-Bello. A man who ſpeaks the language of the country is immediately put aſhore, to give notice in the adjacent country of the arrival of the ſhips. The news is propagated with amazing ſpeed to the moſt diſtant parts; the merchants haſten to the place, and the trade begins, but with ſuch precautions as experience has taught them. The ſhip's company is divided into three parties. While the firſt is entertaining the purchaſers, and treating them with great civilities, at the ſame time keeping a watchful eye to prevent them from exerciſing their inclination and dexterity in ſtealing; the ſecond is employed in receiving the vanilla, indigo, cochineal, gold and ſilver of the Spaniards, in exchange for ſlaves, quickſilver, ſilks, and other commodities. The third diviſion is in the mean while under arms upon deck, to provide for the ſafety of the ſhip; and to take care not to admit at once a greater number of men than can be kept in order.

When the tranſactions are finiſhed, the Engliſhman returns with his ſtock, which he has commonly doubled; and the Spaniard with his purchaſe, of which he hopes to make as great a profit, or greater. To prevent a diſcovery, he avoids the high roads, and goes through by-ways, with the negroes he has bought, who are loaded with the merchandiſe, which is divided into parcels of a convenient form and weight for carriage.

This manner of trading had been carried on ſucceſsfully for a long time, to the great emolument

ment of the colonies of both nations; when, as Spain intended, it was greatly obſtructed by ſubſtituting regiſter-ſhips to the galleons. It has gradually diminiſhed, and of late years was reduced to fifteen or ſixteen hundred thouſand livres * *per annum*. The Britiſh miniſtry, wiſhing to reſtore, or recover the profit of it, judged, in 1766, that the beſt expedient to repair the loſſes of Jamaica, was to make it a free port.

Immediately the Spaniſh ſhips in America flocked thither from all parts, to exchange their gold and ſilver, and their commodities, for the manufactures of England. The year before this regulation, the exports from Great-Britain for this iſland had not exceeded 9,351,540 livres *; but this plan muſt increaſe them conſiderably. Freedom of trade is a great allurement to foreigners, and a great ſource of wealth to the nation that opens her ports.

If it had not been for the reſtriction which excludes all commodities of the ſame nature with thoſe of Jamaica, it is moſt probable thoſe of St. Domingo would have taken the ſame courſe as thoſe of Mexico and Peru. What is the reaſon that the ſame government which is endeavouring to draw into one of its marts the productions of the French Windward iſlands, ſhould deny an entrance to thoſe of a Leeward iſland? Perhaps, it might be feared, that the ſubjects ſhould find means to obtain from a rival, who can venture with impunity

* On an average about 67,800 l.
† 415,379l. 17s. 6d.

BOOK XIV.

punity to ſell every thing at a lower price, thoſe goods which ſhould contribute to keep up their trade with the Spaniſh colonies.

WHETHER this conjecture is well or ill grounded, the Engliſh have not truſted ſo much to the readineſs of the Spaniards to come to their ports, as to neglect other means of extending their commerce with them. The merchants of Jamaica had formerly ſettled ſome factories in the bay of Honduras, on the Black river, near the Muſquito ſhore. For reaſons unknown to us, they had forſaken them. They have now reſtored them, in the beginning of the year 1766, in hopes of ſupplying the inland provinces of Mexico with proviſions; and if we are not miſinformed, the ſucceſs far ſurpaſſes their expectation.

Jamaica has enriched itſelf by its plantations ſtill more than by its illegal trade.

YET this fraudulent and precarious trade is an inconſiderable matter compared to the immenſe riches which Jamaica has derived from its plantations. The firſt culture which the inhabitants attended to, was that of cocoa; which they found eſtabliſhed by the Spaniards. It proſpered as long as thoſe plantations laſted; which had been cultivated by a people who made this their principal food and their only traffic. The new planters perceived that they began to decay, and they renewed them; but, either for want of care, or of ſkill in the new planters, the trees did not ſucceed. They grew tired of the culture, and applied themſelves to that of indigo.

THIS production was increaſing conſiderably, when the parliament laid a duty of three livres,

eighteen ſols, ſix deniers*, upon every pound of indigo, which then ſold for eleven livres five ſols †. If this was evidently an immoderate duty at that time, it grew quite inſupportable, when the competition of the French lowered the price of the commodity to four livres ten ſols ‡ a pound. At this period all the indigo plantations fell throughout the Engliſh iſlands; and more eſpecially at Jamaica. The government has ſince endeavoured to retrieve this loſs; they have not only taken off the heavy load with which they had clogged that branch of induſtry, but have encouraged it by a bounty of eleven ſols three deniers § upon every pound of indigo raiſed in the Britiſh ſettlements. This generoſity has ſhewed itſelf too late, and has only occaſioned abuſes. In order to obtain the bounty, the Jamaica people procure indigo from St. Domingo, and then ſend it over to Great-Britain as the growth of their own plantation. This fraudulent traffic may amount to 1,200,000 livres ‖ a year.

THE expence the government is at on this account, cannot be looked upon entirely as a loſs, ſince it is of uſe to the nation; but it keeps up that miſtruſt, and we may ſay, that propenſity to fraud, which the ſpirit of finance has given riſe to in moſt of our governments, between the ſtate and the ſubjects. Ever ſince the prince has been inceſſantly contriving means to acquire money, the people

* 3s. 5d. three farthings.
† 9s. 10d.
‡ 3s. 11d. one farthing.
§ About 6d.
‖ 52,500l.

people have been ſtudying artifices to elude the injuſtice of taxes, and to defraud the prince. When there has been on one ſide no moderation in the expences, no limit to taxations, no equity in the repartition, no lenity in the recovery; there have been no longer any ſcruples about the violation of pecuniary laws on the other, nor any honeſty in the payment of the duties, nor probity in the engagements between the ſubject and the government. Oppreſſion hath prevailed on one hand, and plunder on the other; the finance hath extorted from commerce, and commerce hath eluded or defrauded the finance. The treaſury hath pillaged the planters, and the planters impoſed upon the treaſury by falſe entries. The coloniſt is tormented with taxes, ſervices, and militias; and he rejects this threefold bondage openly and by force when he is able; and, when he is not, by clamours and complaints. If England does not ſupply us with all theſe inſtances of the faulty adminiſtration introduced by the ſpirit of finance, Europe can ſhew other ſtates which too fully juſtify this picture.

THE culture of indigo was not yet totally given up at Jamaica, when that of cotton was undertaken. The American iſlands produce cotton ſhrubs of various ſizes, which riſe and grow up without any culture; eſpecially in low and marſhy grounds. Their produce is of a pale red; ſome paler than others; but ſo ſhort that it cannot be ſpun. None of this is brought to Europe, though it might be uſefully employed in making of hats. The little

that

that is picked up, ſerves to make mattraſſes and pillows.

THE cotton-ſhrub that ſupplies our manufactures, requires a dry and ſtony ſoil, and thrives beſt in grounds that have already been tilled. Not but that the plant appears more flouriſhing in freſh lands than in thoſe which are exhauſted; but, while it produces more wood, it bears leſs fruit.

A weſtern expoſition is fitteſt for it. The culture of it begins in March and April, and continues during the firſt ſpring-rains. Holes are made at ſeven or eight feet diſtance from each other, and a few ſeeds thrown in. When they are grown to the height of five or ſix inches, all the ſtems are pulled up, except two or three of the ſtrongeſt. Theſe are cropped twice before the end of Auguſt. This precaution is the more neceſſary, as the wood bears no fruit till after the ſecond pruning; and, if the ſhrub was ſuffered to grow more than four feet high, the crop would not be the greater, nor the fruit ſo eaſily gathered. The ſame method is purſued for three years; for ſo long the ſhrub may continue, if it cannot conveniently be renewed oftener, with the proſpect of an advantage that will compenſate the trouble.

THIS uſeful plant will not thrive if great attention is not paid to pluck up the weeds that grow about it. Frequent rains will promote its growth; but they muſt not be inceſſant. Dry weather is particularly neceſſary in the months of March and April, which is the time of gathering the cotton, to prevent it from being diſcoloured and ſpotted.

THE cotton-ſhrub bears fruit within nine or ten months after it is planted. A flower blows at the extremity of its branches; and the piſtil of this flower changes into a huſk of the ſize of a pigeon's egg, which opens, and divides itſelf into three parts when the cotton is ripe.

WHEN it is all gathered in, the ſeeds muſt be picked out from the wool with which they are naturally mixed. This is done by means of a cotton-mill, which is an engine, compoſed of two rods of hard wood, about eighteen feet long, eighteen lines in circumference, and fluted two lines deep. They are confined at both ends, ſo as to leave no more diſtance between them, than is neceſſary for the ſeed to ſlip through. At one end is a kind of little mill-ſtone, which being put in motion with the foot, turns the rods in contrary directions. They ſeparate the cotton, and throw out the ſeed contained in it.

WHILE the culture of cotton declined in the other Engliſh iſlands, it flouriſhed more and more at Jamaica; but we may venture to foretell that it will fall. The parliament, that is to ſay the nation, who knows and adminiſters its own revenues, ſeeing that the cotton of its own colonies was not ſufficient to employ its manufactures, took off, in 1766, the duties which till that time had been impoſed upon foreign cottons. The granting ſuch a freedom as muſt neceſſarily increaſe the importation, and reduce the price, of an unwrought commodity, deſerve the higheſt encomiums. Perhaps, a provident adminiſtration ought to have proceeded further,

ther, and have granted a temporary bounty upon all cottons imported from the national ſettlements, to obviate the diſcouragement which may ariſe from foreign competition, and from the reduced price of the commodity. But if the Engliſh are apprehenſive of the decline of the culture of this article ſo important to their manufactures, they have no occaſion for the ſame anxiety with regard to their ginger.

This plant, which never grows above two feet high, is rather buſhy. Its leaves exactly reſemble thoſe of ruſhes, only they are ſmaller. It is propagated by one of its ſhoots, which is planted towards the end of the rainy ſeaſon, and ſprings up in a week's time. When the leaves turn yellow and are withered, the ginger is ripe; it is then pulled up, and expoſed to the ſun or wind, to dry. The roots, which are the only uſeful part, are flat, broad, of different forms, but moſtly reſembling the foot of a gooſe. Their ſubſtance is cloſe, heavy, white, firm, and of the conſiſtence of a turnip.

The culture of ginger is eaſy, and by no means expenſive: a ſingle man may undertake it alone. The root has this double advantage; that it will keep many years in the ground without rotting; and as long as we pleaſe after it is gathered, without being in the leaſt injured. But, if ginger requires no great labour, it abſorbs a vaſt quantity of nutritive juices; inſomuch, that a piece of ground which has bore three or four crops of

ginger, is ſo exhauſted of ſalts, that nothing will thrive upon it.

When firſt the Europeans came to the Caribbee-iſlands, the Caribs made uſe of ginger; but their conſumption in this and in every other article, was ſo ſmall, that nature afforded them a ſufficient quantity of it without the aſſiſtance of cultivation. The conquerors, notwithſtanding the heat of the climate, grew paſſionately fond of this hot ſpice. They ate it in the morning to ſharpen their appetite; they ſerved it up at table preſerved in ſeveral different ways; they uſed it after meals to facilitate digeſtion; and at ſea, as an antidote againſt the ſcurvy. This faſhion was adopted in Europe, and ginger was uſed on every occaſion; it was commonly mixed with pepper, which was then very dear. This eaſtern production fell gradually to a lower price, and ginger grew out of repute. After bearing a conſiderable price, it ſank towards the latter end of the century to ten livres a hundred *. In a ſhort time there was no demand for it; and this culture was dropped almoſt every where, except at Jamaica.

For the laſt thirteen years, it is computed that this iſland has exported, upon an average, 649,865 pounds weight a year. Moſt of it has been conſumed in the Britiſh dominions; the reſt has been ſold in the north, at a price which cannot tempt the colonies where the land is not in ſuch plenty and of ſuch little value as at Jamaica.

Besides

* 8s. 9d.

BESIDES ginger, this iſland furniſhes Europe with a quantity of pimento. There are ſeveral ſorts, more or leſs pungent. The tree which bears that ſort called Jamaica pepper, commonly grows upon the mountains, to the height of above thirty feet. It is very ſtrait, moderately thick, and covered with a greyiſh, ſmooth, and ſhining bark. The leaves exactly reſemble thoſe of the laurel. The flowers blow at the extremities of the branches, and are ſucceeded by berries ſomewhat larger than thoſe of the juniper. They are gathered green, and ſpread in the ſun to dry. They turn brown, and acquire a ſpicy ſmell; from whence, in England, pimento is called all-ſpice. It is very uſeful to ſtrengthen cold ſtomachs that are ſubject to crudities; but ſpices ſhould be cultivated in Aſia, and ſugar in America.

THE art of managing this culture was unknown in Jamaica till the year 1668. It was brought thither by ſome inhabitants of Barbadoes. One of them was poſſeſſed of every requiſite for that kind of produce that depends on man. His name was Thomas Modiford. His capital, together with his ſkill and activity, enabled him to clear an immenſe tract of land; and raiſed him, in time, to the government of the colony. Yet neither could the view of his fortune, nor his warm ſollicitations, prevail upon men accuſtomed to arms and idleneſs to apply to the labours of cultivation. Twelve hundred unfortunate men, who arrived in 1670 from Surinam, which had juſt been ceded to the Dutch, proved more tractable. Neceſſity inſpired

them with reſolution, and their example excited emulation. Theſe beginnings of induſtry were happily ſupported by the quantity of money that was daily poured into Jamaica, from the uninterrupted ſucceſs of the free-booters. Great part of it was employed in erecting buildings, purchaſing ſlaves, implements of huſbandry, and houſhold goods for the riſing plantations. The face of things was wholly changed. Jamaica ſoon exported vaſt quantities of ſugar, ſuperior in kind to that of the other Engliſh iſlands. This culture has never leſſened, not even when that of coffee was joined to it.

This valuable plant, brought from the Eaſt Indies, enriched the Dutch and French ſettlements in America, before the Engliſh thought of appropriating it to themſelves; and, indeed, it has been adopted only at Jamaica; but that iſland will ſoon furniſh as much as the Britiſh dominions can conſume. The mother country has encouraged this culture, by enacting, that all foreign coffee, imported into her dominions, ſhould pay ſix livres * more duty upon every hundred weight, than that imported from the produce of her own colonies.

The commiſſioners for the plantations declared in the houſe of lords, in 1734, that the productions of Jamaica, imported the year before, amounted only to 12,138,748 livres, 1 ſol, 6 deniers †. Their value hath ſince riſen to 15,300,000 livres ‡. This revenue is produced by 25,000 hogſheads of ſugar,

* 5s. 3d. † 531,070l. 4s. 6d. 3-4. ‡ 669,375l.

2000 bags of cotton, three millions weight of coffee, beſides ſkins, ginger, woods for dying, and other leſs important articles. Theſe are the fruits of the labour of 20,000 white men, and 90,000 blacks, gathered together in a few towns, or diſperſed in nineteen pariſhes. The yearly government and defence of the colony amount to two millions of livres*, and in ſome particular circumſtances much more. Its whole capital, in lands, ſlaves, houſes, and moveables of every kind, has been eſtimated at 495,000,000 livres†. But it is a circumſtance ſcarce credible, that only a ſmall part of this wealth belongs to the proprietors of the plantations. Either by misfortunes, by extravagance, or by the eaſe with which they find credit, they have involved themſelves in prodigious debts to the merchants ſettled on the iſland, and eſpecially to the Jews. May that people, who at their firſt origin were ſlaves, and afterwards became conquerors, and who are now reduced to their former ſtate of ſlavery, or become fugitives for theſe twenty centuries paſt, one day lawfully poſſeſs this or ſome other rich iſland of America; where they may collect all their children, and train them up in peace to huſbandry and commerce, out of the reach of that fanaticiſm which has made them odious to the earth, and that perſecution which has made them pay ſo dear for the errors of their worſhip! May the Jews at length live happy, free, and quiet, in ſome corner of the world, ſince they are our

* 87,500l. † 21,656,250l.

brethren

brethren by the ties of humanity, and our fathers by the tenets of religion!

If we may believe the accounts of thoſe who are well acquainted with the ſtate of affairs at Jamaica, no leſs than two thirds of the eſtates belonging to the planters are mortgaged by the immenſe debts they have contracted. This evil muſt increaſe, unleſs it is prevented by a conſiderable and rapid augmentation of the plantations. Whether this ſucceſs is poſſible or probable, ſhall be the ſubject of our next inquiry.

Is it poſſible that the produce of Jamaica ſhould be multiplied?

Upon the moſt moderate computation, the extent of Jamaica appears to be four millions of acres, each 720 feet long, and 72 broad. It has been ſaid that one third of this large ſpace was inhabited and cultivated. The preſent ſtate of the population and cultivation contradicts this aſſertion, though both are more flouriſhing than ever. All the inland part of the country is an uncultivated deſert. There are no plantations except upon the coaſts, and even theſe are not entirely cleared. Moſt of the planters poſſeſs immenſe lands, but hardly one fourth part of them is put to any uſe. All the labour is beſtowed upon 200,000 acres at moſt.

When we conſider, that Jamaica has been long ſince inhabited by an induſtrious and ſkilful people; that the piratical war, and the contraband trade, have at all times poured immenſe treaſures into the iſland; that the means of culture have never been wanting; that, for a long time paſt, recourſe has been had to manure; that the roads and harbours are prodigiouſly multiplied for exportation; that the

the mother country and all Europe have received their produce; and that, notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, the land has never ſold for more than one third of what it has produced in the other iſlands: when we conſider maturely all theſe circumſtances, we cannot avoid concluding, that the ſoil of Jamaica muſt be in general bad, or very indifferent.

THE ſea-coaſts, which, for the conveniency of tranſport, ſeem to claim the preference for ſugar plantations, muſt be ſuppoſed to have had all the labour beſtowed upon them, and to have been improved to the higheſt degree that they were capable of. The exceſſive and conſtant coolneſs of the mountains would be ſo injurious to all productions, and ſo deſtructive to the ſlaves employed, that it would be in vain to attempt any plantations there. The intermediate ſpace between the mountains and the ſea-coaſts is often extremely dry, but at different diſtances it is interſperſed with valleys, hills and plains, where it plainly appears that the Indians planted their maize, and the Spaniards bred their cattle. It may be preſumed that theſe lands, properly managed, would yield abundance of cotton, coffee, cocoa, and indigo; articles to which the Engliſh do not ſeem hitherto to have paid a proper attention. But theſe riches are not ſufficient to make any colony flouriſh in the higheſt degree. Nothing will effect this at preſent in the American iſlands but ſugar.

THOUGH this commodity is cultivated all round the iſland of Jamaica, it is more particularly ſo on the ſouthern coaſt, which the Spaniards inhabited, and

and where their conquerors have multiplied more than in any other part. Their inducement was a ſafe and commodious harbour, which can contain a thouſand men of war. This ineſtimable advantage laid the foundation of Port Royal, which, though it ſtands on ſandy ground that affords none of the neceſſaries of life, not even freſh water, became a famous city in leſs than thirty years. This ſplendour was owing to a conſtant and quick circulation of trade, formed by the commodities of the iſland, the captures of the free-booters, and the contraband trade carried on with the continent. There have been few cities in the world, where the thirſt of wealth and pleaſures had united more opulence and more corruption.

Jamaica experiences a great calamity. Conſequences of this cataſtrophe.

NATURE in one moment deſtroyed this beautiful appearance. The ſky, which was clear and ſerene, at once grew obſcured and red; a rumbling noiſe was heard under ground, ſpreading from the mountains to the plain; the rocks were ſplit; hills that were at a great diſtance came cloſe together; infectious lakes appeared on the ſpots where whole mountains had been ſwallowed up; whole plantations were removed ſeveral miles from the place where they ſtood; enormous chaſms were opened, from whence guſhed out large columns of water that corrupted the air; many habitations diſappeared, being either ſunk into the caverns of the earth, or overturned. The ſea was ſoon covered with trees, which the earth had thrown up, or the winds blown away. Thirteen thouſand lives were loſt by this dreadful earthquake, and three thouſand

by a contagious diſtemper that broke out ſoon after. It is ſaid that ſince this cataſtrophe of the 7th of June 1692, the climate of Jamaica is not ſo fine, the ſky not ſo clear, nor the ſoil ſo fruitful, as it was before. The mountains are not ſo high, and the iſland is lower than it was. It is affirmed that moſt of the wells can be reached with ropes ſhorter by two or three feet than were required before this terrible event: a monument of the fragility of conqueſt, which ſhould have taught the Europeans not to truſt to the poſſeſſion of a world that trembles under their feet, and ſeems to ſlip out of their rapacious hands.

In this general overthrow, Port Royal was overflowed and deſtroyed; all the ſhips in the road were ſhattered to pieces, or thrown to a conſiderable diſtance upon dry land. But this city was too advantageouſly ſituated to be abandoned. The people had ſcarce recovered from their conſternation, when they endeavoured to rebuild the town upon its ruins. But theſe labours were fruitleſs. The riſing walls were again blown down by a hurricane. Port Royal, like Jeruſalem, could never be rebuilt. The earth ſeemed only digged to ſwallow it up. By a ſingularity which baffles all human efforts and reaſonings, the only houſes that are left ſtanding after this ſubverſion, are ſituated upon a narrow ſlip of land, which advances ſeveral miles into the ſea. Thus the land overturns edifices, to which the inconſtant ocean furniſhes as it were a ſolid foundation. Theſe few buildings, which lie open

BOOK XIV.

open to invaſion, are defended by one of the beſt fortreſſes in America.

THE inhabitants of Port Royal, diſcouraged by theſe repeated calamities, retired to Kingſton, which is ſituated in the ſame bay. By their induſtry and activity, this town ſoon became a pleaſant and flouriſhing city, and it is now the center of all the trade. If this is not ſo conſiderable as it was formerly at Port Royal, it is becauſe the colony has not now the ſame connections abroad. The new mart lay too much expoſed to ſecure the merchants from all uneaſineſs. It is but within theſe few years that it has been ſurrounded with works able to defend it from inſult.

YET Kingſton, notwithſtanding it's progreſs, never became the capital of the iſland; this title is ſtill given to St. Jago de la Vega, which the Engliſh have named Spaniſh town. It is ſituated ſome leagues from the ſea, upon the river Cobra, which, though not navigable, is the fineſt in the iſland. This was the governor's reſidence, and the place where the general aſſembly and the courts of juſtice were held. The principal officers and the richeſt planters reſided there. This concourſe of inhabitants formed a more agreeable ſociety there, enlivened the place, and introduced a greater number of conveniencies, and a higher degree of luxury.

Such was the ſtate of things in 1756; when Admiral Knowles judged it to be for the advantage of the colony, that the reſidence of the government ſhould be removed to the ſpot where the trade was centered. His opinion was adopted by the legiſla-

tive

tive body of the iſland, which reſolved that for the future every thing relative to adminiſtration ſhould be tranſacted at Kingſton. Perſonal hatred againſt the projector of this plan; the harſhneſs of the meaſures he employed to carry it into execution; the attachment moſt people are apt to take for places as well as things; numberleſs private intereſts that muſt neceſſarily be affected by this alteration: all theſe cauſes ſuggeſted to many perſons unſurmountable objections to a plan, which was, indeed, liable to ſome inconveniencies, but was founded on unanſwerable reaſons, and attended with great advantages. The promoters of the new ſyſtem, on their ſide, ſupported it with a contemptuous haughtineſs. This oppoſition of ſentiments produced two parties; and the animoſity between them, which was violent at firſt, ſtill continues to increaſe. Theſe diviſions are ſufficient to inflame the whole colony. But it has much more to fear from a number of ferocious enemies, fixed in the center of the iſland, by whom it is inceſſantly threatened.

Jamaica has every thing to fear from a republic of negroes, whoſe independence ſhe has been compelled to acknowledge.

WHEN the Spaniards were compelled to cede Jamaica to the Engliſh, they left there a number of negroes and mulattoes, who, tired of their ſlavery, took a reſolution to retire into the mountains, there to preſerve that liberty which they had recovered by the expulſion of their tyrants. Having entered into ſome agreements neceſſary to preſerve their union, they planted maize and cocoa in the moſt inacceſſible places of their retreat. But the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting till harveſt, obliged them to come down into the plain, to pillage for ſuſtenance. The con-

querors bore this plunder the more impatiently, as they had nothing to ſpare, and declared war againſt them. Many were maſſacred; the greater part ſubmitted; and only fifty or ſixty fled back to the rocks, there to live or die in freedom.

POLICY, which ſees every thing, but is never moved by compaſſion, thought it neceſſary utterly to exterminate or reduce this handful of fugitives, who had eſcaped from ſlavery or carnage; but the troops, who were either periſhing or exhauſted with fatigue, were averſe from this deſtructive ſcheme, which muſt have occaſioned the effuſion of more blood. It was therefore dropt, for fear of a revolt. This condeſcenſion was attended with fatal conſequences. All the ſlaves grown deſperate by the hardſhips they underwent, or the dread of puniſhment, ſoon ſought an aſylum in the woods, where they were ſure of meeting with companions ready to aſſiſt them. The number of fugitives increaſed daily. In a ſhort time they deſerted by troops, after having maſſacred their maſters, and plundered and ſet fire to the habitations. In vain were active partizans ſent out againſt them; to whom a reward of 900 livres * was offered for the head of every negro they ſhould bring. This ſeverity produced no alteration, and the deſertion only became the more general.

THE rebels grew more daring as their numbers increaſed. Till the year 1690, they had only fled; but, when they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attack, they fell upon the Engliſh plantations in

* 39l. 7s. 6d.

in ſeparate bands, and committed horrid ravages. In vain were they driven back to their mountains with loſs; in vain were forts erected and garriſoned at proper diſtances, to prevent their inroads; notwithſtanding all this expence, and theſe precautions, they renewed their depredations from time to time. The reſentment which the violation of the rights of nature by barbarous policy excited in theſe blacks, inſpired them with ſuch fury, that the white people who had bought them, in order, as they ſaid, to cut off the root of the evil, reſolved, in 1735, to employ all the forces of the colony, to deſtroy a juſtly implacable enemy.

IMMEDIATELY the military laws took place of all civil government. All the coloniſts formed themſelves into regular bodies of troops. They marched towards the rebels by different roads. One party undertook to attack the town of Nauny, which the blacks themſelves had built in the blue mountains. With cannon, a town built without regularity and defended without artillery, was ſoon deſtroyed; but the ſucceſs of the other enterpriſes was frequently doubtful; ſometimes attended with much loſs. The ſlaves, more elated by one triumph than diſcouraged by ten defeats, were proud of conſidering their former tyrants merely as enemies they were to contend with. If they were beaten, they had at leaſt ſome revenge. Their blood was at leaſt mixed with that of their barbarous maſters. They ruſhed againſt the ſword of the European, to plunge a dagger into his breaſt. At laſt, overpowered by numbers, or by the dex-

terity of their antagoniſts, the fugitives intrenched themſelves in inacceſſible places, where they diſperſed in ſmall bands, fully determined never to ſtir out; and well aſſured that they ſhould never be conquered. At length, after various battles and excurſions, that laſted nine months, the Engliſh gave up all thoughts of ſubduing them.

Thus, ſooner or later, will any people, made deſperate by tyranny, or the oppreſſion of conquerors, always get the better of numerous and well-diſciplined armies; if they have but reſolution enough to endure hunger rather than the yoke; to die rather than live in bondage; and, if they chuſe, rather to ſee their nation extinct than enſlaved. Let them abandon the field to the multitude of troops; to the train of war; to the diſplay of proviſions, ammunition, and hoſpitals: let them retire into the heart of the mountains, without baggage, without covering, without ſtores; nature will provide for them and defend them. There let them remain for years, till the climate, idleneſs, and intemperance, have deſtroyed thoſe ſwarms of foreign invaders, who have no booty to expect, nor any laurels to gather. Let them now and then pour down upon them, like the torrents of their own mountains, ſurprize them in their tents, and ravage their out-lines. Laſtly, let them deſpiſe the opprobrious names of robbers and murderers, which will be laviſhed upon them by people baſe enough to arm themſelves againſt a handful of huntſmen, and weak enough to be unable to conquer them.

Such was the conduct of the blacks with the Engliſh. Theſe, weary of excurſions and fruitleſs armaments, fell into univerſal deſpondency. The pooreſt among them would not venture to accept the lands which the government offered them in the vicinity of the mountains. Even the ſettlements at a greater diſtance from theſe formidable ſlaves, were neglected or forſaken. Many parts of the iſland, which from their appearance, ſeemed likely to become the moſt fruitful, were left in their rude ſtate; and the woods and thickets, with which they were covered, became the terror of the inhabitants, by affording a retreat to the rebels, who were now inured to war.

In this ſituation was the colony, when Trelawney was appointed governor. This prudent and humane commander was ſenſible, that a ſet of men, who for near a century paſt lived upon wild fruits, went naked, and expoſed to the inclemency of the weather; who, ever at war with an aſſailant ſtronger than themſelves and better armed, never ceaſed fighting for the defence of their liberty; that ſuch a ſet of men would never be ſubdued by open force. He, therefore, had recourſe to pacific overtures. He offered them not only lands to cultivate, which ſhould be their own property, but likewiſe liberty and independence. It was agreed that they ſhould enjoy theſe privileges under chiefs, who, though choſen by themſelves, ſhould ſtill hold their commiſſions of the governor of the iſland, and act under his direction. This plan, unheard of before among negroes, was accepted,

cepted, and the treaty concluded in 1738, to the joy of both parties. It ſeemed to promiſe a laſting tranquillity; but there was a circumſtance in the ſtipulation which laid the foundation of future diſturbances.

WHILE Trelawney was negociating this accommodation in the name of the crown, the general aſſembly of the colony had propoſed their ſeparate plan to the independent negroes. This was, that they ſhould engage to harbour no more fugitive ſlaves, on condition that a ſtipulated ſum ſhould be paid them for every ſuch deſerter, whom they ſhould inform againſt, or bring back to the colony. This agreement, repugnant to humanity, has certainly not been religiouſly obſerved. The parties have mutually accuſed each other of diſhoneſty. The negroes, but ill-paid in this ſhameful compact, have ſeveral times begun their ravages afreſh.

WHETHER fired by their example, or exaſperated at the ill uſage they met with, the negro ſlaves reſolved to be free likewiſe. While the flames of war kindled in Europe were ſpreading in America, theſe miſerable men, agreed, in 1760, to take up arms all in one day, murder their tyrants, and ſeize upon the government. But their impatience for liberty diſconcerted the unanimity of the plot by preventing the timely execution of it. Some of the conſpirators ſtabbed their maſters, and ſet fire to their houſes before the appointed time; but finding themſelves unable to reſiſt the whole force of the iſland, which their premature exploit had collected in a moment, they fled

fled to the mountains. From this impenetrable receſs they were inceſſantly making deſtructive inroads. The Engliſh, in their diſtreſs, were reduced to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of the wild negroes, whoſe independence they had been obliged to acknowledge by a ſolemn treaty. They even bribed them, and promiſed a certain ſum for every ſlave they ſhould kill with their own hands. Thoſe baſe Africans, unworthy of the liberty they had recovered, were not aſhamed to ſell the blood of their brethren: they purſued them, and killed many of them by ſurprize. At laſt the conſpirators, weakened and betrayed by their own nation, remained a long time ſilent and inactive.

THE conſpiracy was thought to be effectually extinguiſhed, when it broke out again with redoubled fury. The numbers had increaſed by deſerters from the ſeveral plantations. The regular troops, the militia, and a large body of ſailors, all marched in purſuit of the ſlaves; they fought and beat them in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; many were ſlain, or taken priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed into the woods and rocks. All the priſoners were ſhot, hanged, or burnt. Thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be the chief promoters of the conſpiracy, were tied alive to gibbets, and there left to periſh ſlowly, expoſed to the ſcorching ſun of the torrid zone; a far more painful and more terrible death than that of being burnt alive. Yet their tyrants enjoyed the torments of theſe miſerable wretches, whoſe only crime was an attempt to recover by revenge

thoſe rights of which avarice and inhumanity had deprived them.

The meaſures that were taken to prevent future inſurrections, were dictated by the ſame ſpirit of barbarity. A ſlave is whipped in the public places if he plays at any game whatſoever; if he preſumes to go a hunting, or to ſell any thing but milk or fiſh. He cannot ſtir out of his maſter's plantation, unleſs attended by a white man, or with an expreſs permiſſion in writing. If he beats a drum, or makes uſe of any other noiſy inſtrument, his maſter is condemned to pay a penalty of 225 livres *. Thus do the Engliſh, who are ſo jealous of their own liberty, ſport with that of other men. To this exceſs of barbarity the negro trade muſt neceſſarily have brought theſe uſurpers. Such is the progreſs of injuſtice and violence. To conquer the new world, its inhabitants muſt doubtleſs have been ſlaughtered. To replace them, negroes muſt be bought, as they alone are able to endure the climate and the labours of America. To remove theſe Africans from their native country, who were deſigned to cultivate the land without having any poſſeſſions in it, it was neceſſary to ſeize them by force, and make them ſlaves. To keep them in ſubjection, they muſt be treated with ſeverity. To prevent their revolt, the natural conſequence of ſeverity and ſervitude, theſe men, whom we have made deſperate, muſt be reſtrained by capital puniſhments, by hard uſage, and atrocious laws.

But

* 9l. 16s. 10d. half-penny.

But cruelty itſelf has a period in its own deſtructive nature. In an inſtant it may ceaſe. An enemy who ſhould be ſo fortunate as to land at Jamaica, would ſoon convey arms to theſe men, who are full of rancour againſt their oppreſſors, and only wait a favourable opportunity to riſe againſt them. The French, not conſidering that the revolt of the blacks in one colony would probably occaſion it in all the reſt, will haſten ſuch a revolution in time of war. The Engliſh, finding themſelves between two fires, will be diſmayed; their ſtrength and courage will fail them; and Jamaica will fall a prey to ſlaves and conquerors, who will contend for dominion with freſh enormities. Such is the train of evils that injuſtice brings along with it! It attaches itſelf to man ſo cloſely, that the connection cannot be diſſolved but by the ſword. Crimes beget crimes; blood is productive of blood; and the earth becomes a perpetual ſcene of deſolation, tears, miſery and affliction, where ſucceſſive generations riſe to imbrue their hands in blood, to tear out each other's bowels, and to lay each other in the duſt.

Advantages of Jamaica for war. Its diſadvantages for navigation.

The loſs of Jamaica, however, would be a heavy one for England. Nature has placed this iſland at the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, and made it a kind of key to that rich country. All ſhips going from Carthagena to the Havannah, are obliged to paſs by its coaſts; it is more within reach of the ſeveral trading ports on the continent, than any other iſland; the many excellent roads with which it is ſurrounded, facilitate the launching of men of

war on all ſides of the iſland. Theſe ſeveral advantages are balanced by ſome inconveniences.

If it is eaſy to get at Jamaica by the trade winds, by taking the leſs Antilles, it is not ſo eaſy to get out, whether we go through the ſtreights of Bahama, or determine for the leeward paſſage.

The firſt of theſe two ways gives the full advantage of the wind for two hundred leagues; but as ſoon as Cape St. Anthony is doubled, we meet the ſame wind againſt us that before was favourable: ſo that more time is loſt than was gained; and there is alſo a riſque of being taken by the guarda-coſtas of the Havannah. This danger is ſucceeded by another, which is the ſhoals on the coaſt of Florida, towards which the winds and currents drive with great violence. The Elizabeth, an Engliſh man of war, would infallibly have been loſt there in 1746, had not Captain Edwards ventured into the Havannah. It was during the heighth of the war; and the port belonged to the enemy. "I come," ſaid the captain to the governor, "to "deliver up my ſhip, my ſailors, my ſoldiers, and "myſelf, into your hands; I only aſk the lives of "my men." "I will not be guilty of any diſhono-"rable action," replied the Spaniſh commander. "Had we taken you in fight, in open ſea, or upon "our coaſts, your ſhip would have been ours, and "you would have been our priſoners. But as you "are overtaken by a ſtorm, and are driven into "this port from the fear of being ſhipwrecked, "I do and ought to forget that my nation is at war "with yours. You are men, and ſo are we; you

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"are in diſtreſs, and have a right to our pity. You "are at liberty to unload and refit your veſſel; "and if you want it, you may trade in this port "to pay your charges; you may then go away, "and you will have a paſs to carry you ſafe be- "yond the Bermudas. If after this you are taken, "you will be a lawful prize; but at this moment, "I ſee in Engliſhmen, only ſtrangers for whom hu- "manity claims our aſſiſtance." It is in this inſtance that we diſcover Spaniſh generoſity.

The other way is attended with no leſs difficulty and danger. It terminates at a ſmall iſland, that the Engliſh call crooked iſland, which lies eighty leagues off Jamaica. Ships that come this way muſt commonly ſtrive againſt the eaſterly wind through the whole paſſage, coaſt along cloſe under St. Domingo, in order to keep clear of the flats of Cuba, and then paſs the ſtreights, between the points of theſe two great iſlands, where it is very difficult to eſcape being intercepted by their privateers or their men of war. The navigators coming from the Lucay's do not meet with theſe obſtructions.

Settlement of the Engliſh at Lucays or Bahama iſlands.

THESE iſlands, the firſt which Columbus diſcovered in America, are four or five hundred in number. Moſt of them are no more than rocks juſt above water. Some were inhabited by ſavages, who were all ſent to periſh in the mines of St. Domingo. Not one of them had a ſingle inhabitant in 1672, when the Engliſh landed a few men on that called Providence, who were all deſtroyed by the Spaniards ſeven or eight years after. This

diſaſter

diſaſter did not deter other Engliſhmen from ſettling there in 1690. They had ſcarce built 160 houſes, when the French and Spaniards jointly attacked them in 1703, deſtroyed their plantations, and carried off their negroes. The coloniſts, diſcouraged by the total loſs of their ſubſtance, removed to other places to ſeek employment, and were ſucceeded by pirates of their nation; who, after exerciſing their piracies on the coaſts of Africa, in the remoteſt ſeas of Aſia, and chiefly in the latitudes of North-America, found a ſafe and commodious retreat in the iſland. Here they continued for a long time, inſulting even the Britiſh flag with impunity, till George I. rouſed by the clamours of his people, and the wiſhes of his parliament, in 1719, fitted out a ſufficient force to ſubdue them. The greater part accepted the proffered amneſty, and increaſed the colony which Woods Rogers brought with him from Europe.

It may now conſiſt of 3000 perſons; half of whom are ſettled at Providence, and the reſt diſperſed in the other iſlands. Accuſtomed to live upon plunder, they retained too much of their former diſpoſitions; and this accounts for the negligent and languid ſtate of their agriculture; though the variety of their ſoil is a conſtant incentive to their induſtry, their ambition, and even their caprices. It is well known, that, in general, it is not fertile; but there are parts ſufficiently rich to inſure the proſperity of a greater population. Theſe iſlands, which for want of productions have hitherto been uſeleſs to Great-Britain, may in time

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be ſerviceable from their ſituation, if not by their trade.

THE Lucays, which on one ſide are ſeparated from Florida only by the channel of Bahama, form on the other a long chain, which terminates nearly at the point of Cuba. There ſome other iſlands, called Caicos, and Turks iſland, lately brought under the yoke of the Engliſh navy, begin; and which continue the chain as far as the middle of the northern coaſt of St. Domingo. Between theſe ſeveral iſlands, there are five paſſages for firſt-rate ſhips. Turk's iſland, and the great Caicos, have lately been fortified by the Engliſh, ſo that they afford a good anchorage, and a ſafe retreat to their privateers, and command the narrow channel, which divides them from St. Domingo. By this means moſt of the ſhips coming from that rich iſland muſt fall into the hands of the Engliſh. If theſe have not built any forts on the other iſlands, it is becauſe they think the ſuperiority of their manœuvres is ſufficient without this aſſiſtance, to intercept this paſſage to the ſhips of their rivals. They are not ſo ſanguine in their expectations with regard to Bermudas.

Settlement of the Engliſh at the Bermudas.

THIS cluſter of iſlands, diſtant about 300 leagues from the Antilles, was diſcovered in 1527, by the Spaniard John Bermudas, who gave them his name, but did not land there. Never had this group of iſlands been inhabited by any human being, when ſixty Engliſhmen landed there in 1612. The population increaſed conſiderably, becauſe the advantages of the

the climate were greatly exaggerated. Inhabitants reſorted thither from the Antilles for the recovery of their health; and from the northern colonies, to enjoy their fortune in peace. Many royaliſts retired there in expectation of the death of their oppreſſor Cromwell. Waller, among the reſt, that charming poet, who was an enemy to that tyrannical deliverer, croſſed the ſeas, and celebrated thoſe fortunate iſlands, inſpired by the influence of the air, and the beauty of the country, which are always favourable to the poet. He imparted his enthuſiaſm to the fair ſex. The Engliſh ladies never thought themſelves handſome or well dreſſed, unleſs they had ſmall Bermuda hats made with palm leaves.

But at laſt the charm was broken, and theſe iſlands fell into that contempt which their inſignificance deſerved. They are very numerous, and their whole compaſs is but ſix or ſeven leagues. The ſoil is very indifferent, and there is not a ſingle ſpring to water it. There is no water to drink but what is taken from wells and reſervoirs. Maize, vegetables, and excellent fruits, afford plenty of wholeſome food; but they have no ſuperfluous commodities for exportation; yet chance has collected under this pure and temperate ſky, four or five thouſand inhabitants; poor, but happy in being unobſerved. They have no outward connections except by ſome ſhips paſſing from the northern to the ſouthern colonies, which ſometimes ſtop to take refreſhments in theſe peaceful iſlands.

SOME attempts have been made to improve the fortunes of theſe people by induſtry. It has been wiſhed that they would try to cultivate ſilk; then cochineal; and, laſtly, that they would plant vineyards. But theſe projects have been only thought of. Theſe iſlanders, conſulting their own happineſs, have confined their ſedentary arts to the weaving of ſails. This manufacture, ſo well adapted to plain and moderate men, grows daily more and more flouriſhing.

FOR upwards of a century paſt, ſhips have alſo been built at the Bermudas, that are not to be equalled for ſwiftneſs and durableneſs; and are in great requeſt, eſpecially by pirates. They are made of a kind of cedar, called by the French Acajou. It hath been tried to imitate them at Jamaica and in the Bahama iſlands, where there were plenty of materials, which were grown ſcarce and dear in the old docks; but theſe ſhips are, and muſt be far inferior to their models.

THE principal inhabitants of the Bermuda iſlands have formed a ſociety in 1765, the ſtatutes of which are, perhaps, the moſt reſpectable monument that ever dignified humanity. Theſe virtuous citizens have engaged themſelves to form a library of all books of huſbandry, in whatever language they have been written; to procure to all capable perſons of both ſexes, an employment ſuitable to their diſpoſition; to beſtow a reward on every man who has introduced into the colony any new art, or contributed to the improvement of any one already known;

known; to give a penſion to every daily workman, who, after having aſſiduouſly continued his labour, and maintained a good character for forty years, ſhall not have been able to lay-by a ſtock ſufficient to allow him to paſs his latter days in quiet; and laſtly, to indemnify every inhabitant of Bermuda, who ſhall have been oppreſſed either by the miniſter or the magiſtrate.

May theſe advantages ever be preſerved to theſe induſtrious, though indigent people; happy in their labour and in their poverty, which keeps their morals untainted! They enjoy in a ſtate of innocence the benefits of a pure and ſerene ſky. The poiſon of luxury has never infected them. They are not themſelves addicted to envy, nor do they excite it in others. The rage of ambition and war is extinguiſhed upon their coaſts, as the ſtorms of the ocean that ſurround them are broken. The virtuous man would willingly croſs the ſeas to enjoy the ſight of their frugality. They are totally unacquainted with what paſſes in the part of the world we live in; and it will be happy for them to remain in their ignorance.

England drew from all her flouriſhing colonies only a ſufficient quantity of ſugar for her own conſumption; part of the coffee and cotton ſhe wanted; but neither cocoa, nor indigo. The late war, by extending her empire in the new world, has enriched her commerce with ſome additional articles of exportation.

The Engliſh take poſſeſſion of the iſland of Tobago, which had been occupied by the Dutch and by the French.

At the head of her new acquiſitions ſtands the iſland of Tobago, which meaſures about thirty leagues round. It is not, as moſt of the other Caribbee iſlands, full of barren rocks, or unwholeſome moraſſes. Plains of conſiderable extent, and without any inequalities, are here crowned with hills, whoſe gentle aſcent is every where fit for cultivation. From theſe hills flow innumerable ſprings; moſt of which ſeem purpoſely intended to turn the ſugar-mills. The ſoil, which is ſometimes ſandy, is conſtantly black and deep. There are ſafe and commodious harbours along the north and weſt ſides of the iſland, which is not expoſed to thoſe dreadful hurricanes that are ſo deſtructive in other parts. Poſſibly, it owes this ineſtimable advantage to the vicinity of the continent.

Tobago has formerly been exceedingly populous, if we may credit tradition; but its authority is rather doubtful. The inhabitants long withſtood the fierce and frequent attacks of the ſavages from the continent, who were ſtubborn and irreconcileable enemies. At length, wearied out with theſe inroads, which were inceſſantly renewed, they diſperſed into the adjacent iſlands.

That which they had forſaken lay open to invaſion from Europe, when two hundred natives of Fleſſingen landed there in 1632, to lay the foundation of a Dutch colony. The neighbouring Indians joined with the Spaniards of Trinity iſland, to oppoſe an eſtabliſhment that gave umbrage to both. Whoever attempted to ſtop their fury, was murdered

murdered or taken priſoner; and the few who eſcaped into the woods ſoon deſerted the iſland.

For twenty years the Dutch forgot a ſettlement which was only noted for the diſaſters of its origin. In 1654, a freſh colony was ſent there, which was driven away in 1666. The Engliſh were ſoon deprived of this conqueſt by the French; but Lewis XIV. ſatisfied with having conquered it, reſtored it to his ally the republic of Holland. This ſettlement ſucceeded no better than the other colonies of that commercial nation that were engaged in agriculture. The motives that determine ſo many perſons from other countries to go to America, ought never to have influenced the Dutch. Their own country affords every poſſible advantage for trade, and they have no need to go abroad to make their fortune. A happy toleration, purchaſed like their liberty, with rivers of blood, hath at length left the conſciences of all men free; ſo that no religious ſcruples can induce timorous minds to baniſh themſelves from their native country. The government makes ſuch ample proviſion for the relief and employment of the poor, that none are driven by deſpair to go and clear a foreign land which uſually deſtroys the firſt cultivators. Tobago, therefore, never had more than 1200 men, employed in the culture of a little tobacco, cotton and indigo, and of ſix ſugar plantations.

The colony was confined to this ſcanty exertion of induſtry, when it was attacked by the very ſame nation that had reſtored it to its former rights of poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion and property. In the month of February 1677, a French fleet, deſtined to ſeize upon Tobago, fell in with the Dutch fleet that was ſent out to oppoſe this expedition. They engaged in the very road of the iſland, which became famous from this memorable action in an age abounding with great events. The obſtinacy and valour on both ſides was ſuch, that the fight ſtill continued, when every ſhip was diſmaſted, and unrigged, and no ſailors left to work them. The engagement did not ceaſe till twelve veſſels were burnt, and a great number ſunk. The aſſailers loſt the feweſt men, and the defendants kept poſſeſſion of the iſland.

But d'Eſtrees, who was determined to take it, landed there the ſame year in the month of December. There was then no fleet to obſtruct or retard his progreſs. A bomb thrown from his camp, blew up their powder magazine. This proved, as it generally does, a deciſive ſtroke; and the enemy, unable to reſiſt, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The conquerors availed themſelves to the utmoſt of the right of war: not content with razing the fortifications, they burnt the plantations, ſeized upon all the ſhips in the harbour, and tranſported the inhabitants from the iſland. The conqueſt of this place was ſecured to France by the peace that ſoon followed an action, in which defeat was attended with no marks of diſgrace and victory with no advantage.

The court of Verſailles neglected this important iſland to ſuch a degree, as not to ſend a ſingle man thither. Perhaps, in the intoxication of falſe

BOOK XIV.

grandeur, they beheld with indifference whatever was merely uſeful. They even entertained an unfavourable opinion of Tobago, and imagined it was only a barren rock. This error gained ground from the behaviour of the French, who, finding themſelves too numerous at Martinico, went over to the iſlands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Dominica. Theſe were precarious poſſeſſions, and whoſe ſoil was of an indifferent quality. Could they poſſibly have been preferred to an iſland where the land was better, and the property inconteſtable? Such was the reaſoning of a government, which was not then ſufficiently enlightened concerning the trade and plantations of the colonies, to diſcern the true motives of this diſlike the ſubjects had to Tobago.

An infant colony, eſpecially when it is founded with ſlender means, cannot ſubſiſt without immediate aſſiſtance. It cannot make any progreſs but in proportion as it finds conſumption for its firſt productions. Theſe are generally of a common ſort, are not worth the expences of exportation to any diſtance, and, therefore, will ſcarce ſell but in the neighbourhood, and ought inſenſibly, and by moderate profits, to lead to the undertaking of thoſe great cultures which are the object of commerce between Europe and the Leeward iſlands. But Tobago was too remote from the French ſettlements, to attract inhabitants by ſuch a gradation of ſucceſs. Leſs fruitful iſlands, that were nearer to their reſources, were preferred.

THE low condition into which it was fallen did not prevent it from attracting the attention of England. That proud iſland, which thinks herſelf the queen of all others becauſe ſhe is the moſt flouriſhing, pretended to have an undoubted right to that of Tobago, becauſe it had once been in her poſſeſſion for ſix months. Her forces have confirmed her pretenſions; and the peace of 1763, has juſtified the ſucceſs of her arms, by ceding to her a poſſeſſion, which ſhe will turn to better account than the French ever did.

ALMOST all the ſettlements in the Antilles have proved fatal to the firſt coloniſts, who, acting by chance in times of little experience, without the concurrence of the mother-country, committed perpetual blunders. Their avidity would not ſuffer them to follow the method of the natives, who, to abate the influence of a conſtant ſcorching ſun, uſed to ſeparate the ſmall parcels of land which they were forced to clear, with large ſpaces covered with trees and ſhady thickets. Theſe ſavages, inſtructed by experience, fixed their dwellings in the middle of the woods, to preſerve themſelves from the quick and dangerous exhalations of a ground newly turned up.

THE deſtroyers of this prudent people, being too eager after their profits, neglected this method as too ſlow; and being impatient to cultivate all, precipitately cut down whole foreſts. Thick vapours immediately aroſe from the ground, which was heated, for the firſt time, by the rays of the ſun. Theſe increaſed as the earth was ſtirred up

for ſowing and planting. Their malignant particles inſinuated themſelves into every pore, and every organ of the huſbandman; who, by hard labour, was conſtantly kept in a profuſe perſpiration. The circulation of the fluids was ſtopped, all the viſcera were dilated, the body ſwelled, the ſtomach could no longer perform its functions, and death enſued. Thoſe who eſcaped theſe peſtilential influences by day, loſt their lives by ſleeping in huts haſtily run up upon a freſh ſoil, where vegetation was too active, and ſo unwholeſome that it conſumed the men before it could nouriſh the plants.

FROM theſe obſervations it appears, that the following would be the beſt plan which could be purſued in the eſtabliſhing of a new colony. At our firſt arrival, it ſhould be obſerved what winds are moſt prevalent in the Archipelago of America, and it will be found that they blow regularly from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-eaſt. If we were at liberty to chuſe, and met with no obſtacle from the nature of the ground, we ſhould take care not to fix on the leeward ſide, leſt the wind ſhould be continually bringing to us the vapours of the new-tilled grounds, and infect, from the exhalations of the new plantations, a piece of land that might have been purified in time. Our colony ſhould, therefore, be founded on the windward ſide of whatever country we mean to cultivate. Firſt, all the habitations ſhould be built in the wood, and not a tree be ſuffered to be felled about them. The woods are wholeſome; the refreſhing ſhade they afford, and the cool air we breathe in them even in

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the heat of the day, are a preſervative againſt that exceſſive perſpiration, which is the deſtruction of moſt Europeans, by the dryneſs and acrimony of an inflammable blood, deprived of its fluid parts. Fires ſhould be kept in the huts all night, to diſpel any noxious air that might have entered. This cuſtom, which is conſtantly practiſed in ſome parts of Africa, would be as ſucceſsful in America, conſidering the analogy between the two climates.

After having taken theſe precautions, we might begin to cut down the woods; but it ſhould be at leaſt at fifty toiſes diſtance from the huts. When the ground is laid bare, the ſlaves ſhould not be ſent out to their work till ten o'clock in the morning, when the ſun has had time to divide the vapours, and the wind to drive them away. The four hours loſt after ſun-riſe, would be fully compenſated by ſparing the ſtrength of the labourers, and the preſervation of the human race. This attention ſhould be continued as long as any lands are clearing or ſowing, till the ground was thoroughly purged and ſettled; when the coloniſts might be allowed to fix upon it, and be employed without the leaſt apprehenſions at all hours in the day. Experience has already juſtified the neceſſity of all theſe meaſures.

The Engliſh having firſt ſettled on the leeward ſide of Tobago, they died in great numbers, and loſt a great number of ſlaves, though they all came at the ſame time from the neighbouring colonies. Having acquired knowledge by this misfortune, they removed to windward, and the mortality

ceaſed. This ſettlement, which was to have been entered upon immediately after the peace, has been greatly retarded, becauſe the cuſtom that prevails in England, of ſelling the lands of their iſlands, is attended with numberleſs forms, which have delayed the clearing of them. It was not till the year 1766 that 400,000 acres of land have been allotted, divided into lots of 500 acres each. A ſecond allotment has ſince been made; but, in both, no one planter has been allowed to purchaſe more than one lot. This law has extended to St. Vincent and Dominica; with this difference only, that in the laſt iſland the lots were only of 300 acres. In all the three acquiſitions, the land has ſold but for 22, or 28 livres * an acre. One fifth of the ſum was paid down at the time; ten per *cent.* the two firſt years, and afterwards twenty per *cent.* till the whole was diſcharged. Every planter is alſo obliged to fix a white man and two white women upon his plantation for every hundred acres he ſhall clear. But here a difficulty occurs. The Engliſh, by putting two women and but one man upon a plantation, bring themſelves into the dilemma of either leaving one woman without a huſband, or giving two wives to the man. This is either admitting polygamy, which chriſtianity forbids; or celibacy, which proteſtants will not allow: for it is not to be ſuppoſed that in America the Engliſh will chuſe to intermarry with the blacks. However this may be, every planter muſt

* 19s. 3d. or 1l. 4s. 6d.

must comply with this injunction, or forfeit 450 livres * for every woman, and double that ſum for every man that is wanting.

NOTWITHSTANDING this kind of reſtraint, the diſpoſition of the Engliſh leaves no room to doubt, but that Tobago will emerge in their hands from the utmoſt wretchedneſs, and riſe to the greateſt degree of proſperity. At that brilliant period, it will ſurpaſs all the poſſeſſions they have acquired in America, in the excellence and the abundance of its productions. Thoſe ſpeculators who are beſt acquainted with the nature of the ſoil, and beſt able to judge what it is capable of producing in proportion to its extent, make no ſcruple to affirm, that the iſland will yield 50,000 hogſheads of raw ſugar annually to the mother country, beſides other articles of leſs value. In ſhort, it will ſurpaſs Jamaica, and increaſe the wealth of Granada.

France cedes Granada to England. Importance and produce of that iſland.

THE iſland of Granada lies to leeward of Tobago, is but nine or ten leagues long, ſeven broad in the wideſt part, and twenty or twenty-two in circumference. Its plains are interſected by a few mountains of a moderate height, and a prodigious number of pretty conſiderable ſprings. There is ſo capacious a harbour to leeward, that ſixty men of war may ride there with eaſe, and with ſo much ſafety, that they might ſave themſelves the trouble of caſting anchor.

THOUGH the French, acquainted with the fertility of Granada, had formed, as early as the year 1638, the project of ſettling there, yet they never

* 19l. 13s. 9d.

carried it into execution till the year 1651. At their arrival, they gave a few hatchets, ſome knives, and a barrel of brandy to the chief of the ſavages they found there; and imagining they had purchaſed the iſland with theſe trifles, aſſumed the ſovereignty, and ſoon acted as tyrants. The Caribs, unable to contend with them by open force, took the method which weakneſs always inſpires to repel oppreſſion; they murdered all whom they found alone and defenceleſs. The troops that were ſent to ſupport the infant colony, found no ſafer or more expeditious way than to deſtroy all the natives. The remainder of theſe miſerable ſavages took refuge upon a ſteep rock, preferring rather to throw themſelves down alive from the top of it, than to fall into the hands of an implacable enemy. The French inconſiderately called this rock *le morne des ſauteurs*, the hill of the leapers, and it ſtill retains that name.

THEY were juſtly puniſhed for all theſe cruelties by a rapacious, violent, and inflexible governor. Moſt of the coloniſts, no longer able to endure his tyranny, retired to Martinico, and thoſe who remained on the iſland condemned him to death after a formal trial. In the whole court of juſtice that tried this miſcreant, there was only one man who could write, and his name was Archangeli. A farrier was the perſon that impeached, who, inſtead of the ſignature, ſealed with a horſeſhoe, and Archangeli, who performed the office of clerk, wrote gravely round it: *marque de Monſieur de la*

Brie, conſeiller rapporteur. MARK OF MR. DE LA BRIE, COUNCIL FOR THE COURT.

IT was apprehended that the court of France would not ratify this extraordinary ſentence, paſſed with ſuch unuſual formalities, though dictated by common ſenſe. Moſt of the judges of the crime, and witneſſes of the execution diſappeared from Granada. None remained, except thoſe whoſe obſcurity ſcreened them from the purſuit of the laws. The eſtimate taken in 1700 ſhews, that there were on the iſland no more than 251 white people, 53 free ſavages or mulattoes, and 525 ſlaves. The uſeful animals were reduced to 64 horſes, and 569 head of horned cattle. The whole culture conſiſted of three plantations of ſugar, and fifty-two of indigo.

THE face of things was totally changed towards the year 1714; and this alteration was effected by Martinico. That iſland was then laying the foundation of a ſplendour that was to aſtoniſh all nations. It ſent immenſe productions to France, and received valuable commodities in return. The richeſt of theſe were ſent to the Spaniſh coaſts. Its ſhips touched at Granada in their way, to take in refreſhments. The trading privateers, who undertook this navigation, taught the people of that iſland the value of their ſoil, which only required cultivation. The execution of every project is facilitated by commerce. Some traders furniſhed the inhabitants with ſtaves and utenſils to erect ſugar plantations. An open account was eſtabliſhed between the two colonies. Granada was clearing its debts

debts gradually by its rich produce, and the balance was on the point of being closed, when the war in 1744 interrupted the communication between the two islands, and at the same time stopped the progress of the sugar plantations. This loss was supplied by the culture of coffee, which was pursued, during the hostilities, with all the activity and eagerness that industry could inspire.

The peace of 1748 revived all the labours, and opened all the former sources of wealth. In 1753, the population of Granada consisted of 1,262 white people; 175 free negroes; and 11,991 slaves. The cattle amounted to 2,298 horses or mules; 2,456 head of horned cattle; 3,278 sheep; 902 goats; and 331 hogs. The cultivation rose to 83 sugar plantations; 2,725,600 coffee trees; 150,300 cocoa trees, and 800 cotton plants. The provisions consisted of 5,740,450 trenches of cassada; 933,596 banana trees, and 143 squares of potatoes and yams. The colony made a rapid progress in proportion to the excellence of its soil. Those obstinate fevers and dropsies, which for thirty years had consumed the men as fast as they cut down the woods, would have subsided when the whole had been cleared; a labour in which the coloniſt lost his life by endeavouring to preserve it. But the French have lost their hopes and their treasures. They will no longer enjoy the wealth of Granada. They deserve, however, the misfortunes that have baffled their too tardy precautions. They are passionately fond of premature and unbounded enjoyment: that

that malady, which has tainted the government of a nation which yet deſerves the affection of her maſters; that prodigality, which reaps when it ſhould ſow; which deſtroys the paſt with one hand, and the future with the other; which exhauſts and conſumes the ſtock by anticipating the income; that confuſion, which reſults from the diſtreſſes any ſtate muſt neceſſarily be reduced to that has neither principles nor experience, that has powers and no views, means, and no conduct; that anarchy which prevails at the helm; that precipitation; that caballing among inferiors; the impropriety or total want of projects; on one hand, the audacity of doing any thing with impunity; on the other, the fear of ſpeaking, even for the public good: this long train of evils has thrown Granada into the hands of the Engliſh, who are in poſſeſſion of this conqueſt by the treaty of 1763. But how long will they keep this colony? Or, will it never again be reſtored to France?

England has not made a fortunate beginning. In the firſt enthuſiaſm raiſed by an acquiſition of which the higheſt opinion had been previouſly formed, every one was eager to purchaſe eſtates there. They ſold for much more than their real value. This caprice, by expelling old coloniſts, who were inured to the climate, has ſent thirty-five or thirty-ſix millions of livres * out of the mother country. This imprudence has been followed by another. The new proprietors, miſled no doubt

* On an average about 1,553,000l.

by

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by national pride, have ſubſtituted new methods to thoſe of their predeceſſors. They have attempted to alter the mode of living among their ſlaves. The negroes, who, from their very ignorance, are more attached to their old cuſtoms than other men, have revolted. It hath been found neceſſary to ſend out troops, and to ſhed blood. The whole colony was filled with ſuſpicions. The maſters, who had laid themſelves under a neceſſity of uſing violent methods, were afraid of being burnt or maſſacred in their own plantations. The labours have declined, or been totally interrupted. Tranquillity has at length been reſtored. The number of ſlaves has been increaſed as far as 40,000; and the produce has been raiſed to the treble of what it was under the French government.

THE plantations will ſtill be improved by the neighbourhood of a dozen of iſlands, called the Granadines, that are dependent on the colony. They are from three to eight leagues in circumference. They do not afford a ſingle ſpring of water. The air is wholeſome; the ground covered only with thin buſhes, has not been ſcreened from the ſun: it exhales none of thoſe noxious vapours which are fatal to the huſbandman.

CARIACOU, the only one of the Granadines which the French have occupied, was at firſt frequented by turtle fiſhermen, who, in the leiſure afforded them by ſo eaſy an occupation, employed themſelves in clearing the ground. In proceſs of time their ſmall number was increaſed by the acceſſion of ſome of the inhabitants of Guadalupe, who finding

finding that their plantations were deſtroyed by a peculiar ſort of ants, removed to Cariacou. The iſland flouriſhed from the liberty that was enjoyed there. The inhabitants collected about twelve hundred ſlaves, by whoſe labours they made themſelves a revenue of four or five hundred thouſand livres * in cotton.

THE other Granadines do not afford the proſpect of the ſame advantages, though the plantation of ſugar is begun there. It has ſucceeded remarkably well at Becouya, the largeſt and moſt fertile of theſe iſlands, which is no more than two leagues diſtant from St. Vincent.

The Engliſh take poſſeſſion of St. Vincent, Cuſtoms of the ſavages they found in this iſland.

WHEN the Engliſh and French, who for ſome years had been ravaging the Windward iſlands, began to give ſome conſiſtence to their ſettlements; in the year 1660, they agreed that Dominica and St. Vincent ſhould be left to the Caribs as their property. Some of theſe ſavages, who till then had been diſperſed, retired into the former, and the greater part into the latter. There theſe mild and moderate men, lovers of peace and ſilence, lived in the woods, in ſcattered families under the guidance of an old man, whom his age alone had advanced to the dignity of ruler. The dominion paſſed ſucceſſively into every family, where the oldeſt always became king, that is to ſay, the guide and father of the nation. Theſe ignorant ſavages were ſtill unacquainted with the ſublime art of ſubduing and governing men by force of arms; of maſſacring the inhabitants of a country

* On an average 19,690l.

to

to get poſſeſſion of their lands; of granting to the conquerors the property, and to the conquered the labours of the conquered country; and in proceſs of time, of depriving both of the rights and the fruit of their toil by arbitrary taxes.

The population of theſe children of nature was ſuddenly augmented by a race of Africans, whoſe origin was never poſitively aſcertained. It is ſaid that a ſhip carrying negroes for ſale foundered on the coaſt of St. Vincent; and the ſlaves who eſcaped the wreck, were received as brethren by the ſavages. Others pretend that theſe negroes were deſerters, who ran away from the plantations of the neighbouring colonies. A third tradition ſays, that this foreign race comes from the blacks that the Caribs took from the Spaniards, in the firſt wars between thoſe Europeans and the Indians. If we may credit Du Tertre the moſt antient hiſtorian that has written an account of the Antilles, thoſe terrible ſavages, who were ſo inveterate againſt their maſters, ſpared the captive ſlaves, brought them home, and reſtored them to liberty that they might enjoy life, that is, the common bleſſings of nature, which no man has a right to withhold from any of his fellow-creatures.

Their kindneſs did not ſtop here: for by whatever chance theſe ſtrangers were brought into the iſland, the proprietors of it gave them their daughters in marriage; and the race that ſprang from this mixture, were called black Caribs. They have preſerved more of the primitive colour of their fathers, than of the lighter hue of their mothers.

thers. The red Caribs are of a low ſtature; the black Caribs tall and ſtout; and this doubly ſavage race ſpeak with a vehemence that ſeems to reſemble anger.

In proceſs of time, however, ſome differences aroſe between the two nations. The people of Martinico perceiving this, reſolved to take advantage of their diviſions, and raiſe themſelves on the ruins of both parties. Their pretence was, that the black Caribs gave ſhelter to the ſlaves who deſerted from the French iſlands. Impoſture is always productive of injuſtice. Thoſe who were falſely accuſed, were afterwards attacked without reaſon. But the ſmallneſs of the numbers ſent out againſt them; the jealouſy of thoſe who were appointed to command the expedition; the defection of the red Caribs, who refuſed to ſupply ſuch dangerous allies with any of the ſuccours they had promiſed them, to act againſt their rivals; the difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence; the impoſſibility of coming up with enemies who kept themſelves concealed in woods and mountains: all theſe circumſtances conſpired to diſconcert this raſh and violent enterpriſe. It was obliged to be given up, after the loſs of many valuable lives; but the triumph the ſavages obtained, did not prevent them from ſueing for peace as ſuppliants. They even invited the French to come and live with them, ſwearing ſincere friendſhip and inviolable concord. The propoſal was agreed to; and the next year, 1719, many of the inhabitants of Martinico removed to St. Vincent.

THE firſt who came thither, ſettled peaceably, not only with the conſent, but by the aſſiſtance of the red Caribs. This ſucceſs induced others to follow their example; but theſe, whether from jealouſy or ſome other motive, taught the ſavages a fatal ſecret. That people, who knew of no property but the fruits of the earth, becauſe they are the reward of labour, learnt with aſtoniſhment, that they could ſell the earth itſelf, which they had always looked upon as belonging to mankind in general. This knowledge induced them to meaſure, and fix boundaries; and from that inſtant peace and happineſs were baniſhed from their iſland. The partition of lands occaſioned diviſions amongſt men. The following were the cauſes of the revolution produced by this ſyſtem of property.

WHEN the French came to St. Vincent, they brought ſlaves along with them, to clear and till the ground. The black Caribs, ſhocked at the thoughts of reſembling men who were degraded by ſlavery, and fearing that ſome time or other their colour, which betrayed their origin, might be made a pretence for enſlaving them, took refuge in the thickeſt parts of the foreſt. In this ſituation, in order to imprint an indelible mark of diſtinction upon their tribe, that might be a perpetual token of their independence, they flattened the foreheads of all their children as ſoon as they were born. The men and women, whoſe heads could not bend to this ſtrange ſhape, dared no longer appear in public without this viſible ſign of freedom.

freedom. The next generation appeared as a new race. The flat-headed Caribs, who were nearly of the ſame age, tall proper men, hardy and fierce, came and erected huts by the ſea-ſide.

THEY no ſooner knew the price which the Europeans ſet upon the lands they inhabited, but they claimed a ſhare with the other iſlanders. This riſing ſpirit of covetouſneſs was at firſt appeaſed by ſome preſents of brandy, and a few ſabres. But not content with theſe, they ſoon demanded fire-arms, as the red Caribs had; and at laſt they were deſirous of having their ſhare in all future ſales of land, and likewiſe in the produce of paſt ſales. Provoked at being denied a part in this brotherly repartition, they formed into a ſeparate tribe, ſwore never more to aſſociate with the red Caribs, choſe a chief of their own, and declared war.

THE numbers of the combatants might be equal, but their ſtrength was not ſo. The black Caribs had every advantage over the red, that induſtry, valour, and boldneſs, muſt ſoon acquire over a weak habit and a timorous diſpoſition. But that ſpirit of equity, which is ſeldom deficient in ſavages, made the conqueror conſent to ſhare with the vanquiſhed all the territory lying to the leeward. It was the only one which both parties were deſirous of poſſeſſing, becauſe there they were ſure of receiving preſents from the French.

THE black Caribs gained nothing by the agreement which they themſelves had drawn up. The new planters who came to the iſland, always landed

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and ſettled near the red Caribs, where the coaſt was moſt acceſſible. This preference rouſed that enmity which was but ill extinguiſhed. The war broke out again. The red Caribs, who were always beaten, retired to windward of the iſland. Many took to their canoes, and went over to the continent, or to Tobago; and the few that remained, lived ſeparate from the blacks.

THE black Caribs, conquerors and maſters of all the leeward coaſt, required of the Europeans that they ſhould again buy the lands they had already purchaſed. A Frenchman attempted to ſhew the deed of his purchaſe of ſome land which he had bought of a red Carib; *I know not*, ſays a black Carib, *what thy paper ſays; but read what is written on my arrow. There you may ſee, in characters which do not lye, that if you do not give me what I demand, I will go and burn your houſe to-night.* In this manner did a people who had not learnt to read, argue with thoſe who derived ſuch conſequence from knowing how to write. They made uſe of the right of force, with as much aſſurance, and as little remorſe, as if they had been acquainted with divine, political, and civil right.

TIME, which brings on a change of meaſures with a change of intereſts, put an end to theſe diſturbances. The French became, in their turn, the ſtrongeſt. They no longer ſpent their time in breeding poultry, and cultivating vegetables, caſſava, maize, and tobacco, in order to ſell them at Martinico. In leſs than twenty years, more important cultures employed 800 white men, and 3000 blacks.

blacks. The annual ſale of theſe new commodities amounted to 1,500,000 livres *. The iſland of St. Vincent was in this ſituation when it fell into the hands of the Engliſh. It was ſecured to them by the treaty of 1763.

The French, who had begun to clear this country, which till then had always remained uncultivated, entertained not the leaſt doubt as to their title to the lands. They held their property of the original inhabitants, who might, perhaps, have had the right to diſpoſe of a territory which nature had given them. How great was their ſurpriſe, when they were informed that Great-Britain, which was in no treaty either with them or with the Caribs, thought herſelf authorized to ſtrip them, unleſs they would redeem thoſe very fields they had cultivated with their own hands, and founded her right on principles adopted in Europe! In vain did they remonſtrate againſt an oppreſſion ſo contrary to the order of nature, and even to the law of nations. Their complaints were diſregarded. The chief men of the colony could not venture to ſuſpend the orders ſent from the mother-country, to ſell the lands indiſcriminately. The parliament propoſed by this trifling profit, to ſupply the deficiencies which the expences of the war had made in the treaſury. But this end was not anſwered. The 1,575,000 livres *, which aroſe from the conceſſions made in the three neutral iſlands, were almoſt wholly diſſipated in vain formalities. If even the axiom of the Europeans, that

* 65,625l. † Near 69,000l.

falſe and barbarous axiom, that the lands inhabited by ſavages are to be conſidered as vacant, could have been rejected by the Engliſh, who, like the Spaniards, had ſo often availed themſelves of it, to make uſurpations; if the French had not had a right to purchaſe, what they had at leaſt had a right to ſteal; if they had not by their labour acquired a lawful title to thoſe lands which they had obtained by preſents; in ſhort, if the public treaſury of England, exhauſted by a war that was, perhaps, unjuſt, was to be repleniſhed by the extortions of the peace, and the profits of theſe unlawful ſales: ſtill it was contrary to their own intereſt, and to their principles of political œconomy, thus to plunder induſtrious men, who would have accelerated the improvement of a colony which they themſelves had founded.

But the ſeverity of the new-eſtabliſhed government made them diſperſe. Some went over to St. Martin, Marigalante, Guadalupe, and Martinico; but the greater part to St. Lucia, which began to be peopled by granting lands to thoſe who would clear them. They all brought away their ſlaves. The emigration, however, was not univerſal. Some Frenchmen, leſs attached to their relations, and leſs fond of their own country, which had in a manner caſt them off, choſe to remain under the yoke of the conqueror on the fertile ſpot where fortune had thrown them. When the firſt emotions of diſcontent were paſſed, they conſidered they ſhould gain more by redeeming their own lands,

lands, than by ſettling upon freſh grounds that would coſt them nothing.

THEIR fortune, which had never yet been upon any ſolid foundation, muſt acquire firmneſs and vigour under the protection of Engliſh government. The iſland, which they ſhare with their new fellow-citizens, though it does not promiſe much cotton, is very favourable to the culture of the arnotto and cocoa. Before the conqueſt, three millions weight of coffee were gathered there; the culture of which might with eaſe be conſiderably increaſed, if the attention of the Engliſh was not totally engaged in the plantation of ſugar. That part of St. Vincent they were ſettled in, which is on the leeward ſide, ſupplied them only with a ſmall quantity, becauſe it is rugged and hilly. This circumſtance made them deſirous of occupying the plains on the windward ſide. The Caribs, who had taken refuge there, have refuſed to evacuate them, and the Engliſh have had recourſe to arms to compel them to it. Though they defend themſelves with great courage, they will, ſooner or later, ſubmit to the yoke of European tyranny. May the flames of war not extend themſelves to Dominica!

The Engliſh eſtabliſh themſelves at Dominica. Deſign of this ſettlement.

THIS iſland is ſomewhat larger than St. Vincent. It is thirteen leagues in length, and nine, at moſt, in breadth; and in the center are inacceſſible mountains, which pour down numerous rivers of excellent water upon fruitful but uneven grounds.

THIS country was inhabited by its own children. In 1732, 938 Caribs were found there, diſperſed in 32 carbets; and 349 French people lived in a

diſtrict by the ſea-ſide, which the ſavages had forſaken. Theſe Europeans had no other aſſiſtance, or rather companions of their labours, but 23 free mulattoes, and 338 ſlaves. They were all employed in breeding poultry, in raiſing proviſions for the conſumption of Martinico, and cultivating 72,200 cotton ſhrubs. Theſe trifling productions were afterwards enriched by the addition of coffee. At laſt, the iſland contained 600 white people, and 2000 blacks, at the peace of 1763, when it became an Engliſh colony.

BEFORE the end of the laſt century, Great-Britain, which was advancing towards the dominion of the ſeas, while ſhe accuſed France of aſpiring to the monarchy of the continent, had ſhewed as much eagerneſs for Dominica as ſhe did in the late negociations, when victory gave her a right to chuſe. It was not for the ſake of coffee, cocoa, or cotton, which, however, the Engliſh may multiply there beyond their hopes; nor for the ſake of ſugar, of which they muſt not expect more than three or four thouſand hogſheads a year; and that only in proceſs of time. An object of greater importance than ſettlements for cultivation, entered into their diſtant political views.

THE point that the Engliſh aimed at, was to draw all the commodities of the French colonies to Dominica, in order to trade with them themſelves; and, indeed, till the nation, whoſe fortune has ſunk with her glory, can recover her activity, and by the ſtrength of her navy can be enabled in ſome meaſure to ſettle the price of her commodities, and prevent their being conveyed from their

ſettlements

ſettlements by a contraband trade: till that auſpicious time comes, the reciprocal intereſt of the French planters and the Engliſh merchants will baffle all the endeavours of the court of Verſailles. The intercourſe will be kept up by means of the former coloniſts remaining at Dominica, notwithſtanding they have been treated by the new government with as much injuſtice as thoſe of St. Vincent. This is not, however, the only ſeverity they have experienced from the Engliſh miniſtry. While they made every harbour in the iſland a free port, they have laid a duty of thirty-three livres, fifteen ſous *, upon every negro that ſhould be imported; and have even carried their imprudent avidity ſo far, as to require a part of this abſurd tax to be paid before the ſale: ſo that the traders which come from Guinea are obliged to bring money to Dominica, or to borrow it there upon extravagant terms; which muſt either prevent them from trading there, or enhance the price of a merchandiſe, which is already degrading to mankind; though it is ſtill thought too high by avaritious men.

But the great advantage of this iſland for the Engliſh, is its being ſituated between Guadalupe and Martinico, at a ſmall diſtance from each, ſo as to be equally alarming to both. Its ſafe and commodious roads will enable the Engliſh privateers and ſquadrons to intercept, without riſque, the navigation of France in her colonies, and even the communication between the two iſlands. England

* 11. 9s. 6d.

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ſeems to have ſecured at the peace every defile and every poſt againſt the next war. Let us now reſume the examination of her poſſeſſions. When we ſpeak of a maritime and commercial power, an inquiry into the value of its colonies, is taking an an eſtimate of its ſtrength.

Preſent ſtate of the Britiſh iſlands.

THE number of ſlaves employed in the Engliſh iſlands, amounts to about 230,000; but their labour produces leſs than an equal number in the French colonies. This difference may be owing to three ſeveral cauſes. The ſoil of the Britiſh ſettlements, originally of an inferior quality, is now more exhauſted by long culture. The care of the plantations is commonly committed to mercenaries, who are neither ſo diligent, ſo intelligent, nor ſo oeconomical as the proprietors. The methods of clearing and improving the lands have not yet attained to the ſame degree of perfection.

THE population of white people in the French colonies in proportion to the blacks, is as one to ſix; whereas in the Engliſh colonies it is ſeldom more than as one to eleven. The reaſon is, that the latter are confined to agriculture, and the former, embrace both agriculture and trade. In this view, however, Barbadoes, that deals in ſlaves, and Jamaica, that has formed contraband connections with the Spaniſh coaſts, ſhould have, in proportion, a greater number of white people than the other ſettlements under the ſame dependence.

THIS diſproportion between the black and white people has not always been the ſame in the Engliſh colonies. They formerly contained a great number

ber of Europeans; but theſe have diſappeared, as the ſmaller cultures have decreaſed, and their place has been ſupplied by ſugar plantations, which require a very conſiderable extent of territory. Theſe inhabitants have ſucceſſively taken refuge in new iſlands, have retired to North America, or have returned to the mother-country. Not but there were as many indigent and idle men in England, as at the time of the firſt emigrations from Europe to America; but the ſpirit of adventure and enterpriſe, which was raiſed by the novelty of the object and other concurring circumſtances, far from being encouraged, has been ſtifled by the planters. In vain have the laws required every proprietor to have a number of white men proportionable to the blacks upon his plantation; theſe regulations have proved ineffectual. The planters chuſe rather to run the trifling riſque of paying a ſmall penalty, than to act in conformity to a law, the obſervance of which would be more expenſive to them than the penalty inflicted upon the breach of it. But the deficiency in the number of white men is compenſated by the advantages they enjoy.

All the inhabitants of the Engliſh iſlands are formed into a regiment. This ſubjection, which neither expoſes them to the caprices of a governor, nor to the inſulting pride of regular troops, neither degrades nor offends any one. If this militia is inferior in point of diſcipline to the European ſoldiery, it far exceeds them in ardor and courage. If their numbers were ſufficient to repulſe an enemy whoſe government is almoſt a military one,

they would ſave the mother-country the trouble of ſending troops, at an immenſe expence and great riſques, who, for the moſt part, periſh without having done any ſervice. But this militia of the colonies is hardly ſufficient to keep the negroes in awe, who are much inclined to revolt againſt the Engliſh yoke; for ſlavery appears more intolerable in a free nation, where it is more unjuſt and more inconſiſtent with its character, than in others. Are then the efforts of men towards independence of ſuch a nature, that when they have ſhaken off the yoke, they wiſh to impoſe it upon others? And do thoſe who are the moſt impatient of ſlavery, thus become the moſt eager for power?

THOUGH Great Britain has never laid any direct impoſt upon her colonies, they are more burdened with taxes than thoſe which belong to leſs moderate governments. Left entirely to their own ſtrength, they have been obliged to find reſources in themſelves againſt the calamities occaſioned by the great commotions of nature, which are ſo frequent in thoſe climates. Compelled to remedy the evils of war, and to provide for their defence, they have erected fortifications by voluntary contributions; theſe have been large, and ruinous, by the debts they have been obliged to contract. The civil adminiſtration, in manifeſt contradiction to the republican ſpirit, which is that of diſintereſtedneſs and oeconomy, has always been very coſtly, and public buſineſs has never been tranſacted without great expence. This is an unavoidable evil that attends a trading people; whether free or not, they ultimately

mately love or value nothing but money. The thirſt of gold being more the work of imagination than of neceſſity, it does not ſatisfy our deſires like the gratification of our other paſſions. Theſe are unconnected and tranſient; they are at variance with, or ſucceed each other; but the thirſt of gold feeds and gratifies all the others; or at leaſt it contributes to keep them up, and at the ſame time to ſatiate the deſire of them, by procuring the means of indulgence. No habit grows ſtronger by continuance than that of amaſſing wealth; it ſeems to be equally excited by the enjoyments of vanity, and the ſelf-denial of avarice. The rich man always wants to fill or enlarge his treaſure. Conſtant experience verifies this, both in individuals and nations. Since great fortunes have been made in England by trade, the deſire of riches is become the chief ſpring of action, and the univerſal paſſion. Such citizens as either could not or would not embrace that moſt lucrative of all employments, have not yet renounced that lucre which the manners and opinion of the times has made neceſſary. Even while aſpiring to honours, they are in purſuit of riches. In their attachment to thoſe laws and virtues, which ought ever mutually to aſſiſt each other, even in obtaining the honour of ſitting in parliament, they have found the way to aggrandize their fortune. In order to carry their election into this powerful body, they have bribed the people; and afterwards have no more been aſhamed to ſell theſe very people to the court, than they were to have bought them. Every vote in parliament is become

become venal. A famous miniſter kept a liſt, in which theſe votes were rated; and openly boaſted of it, to the diſgrace of the nation. It was the duty of his place, he ſaid, to buy off the repreſentatives of the nation, to make them vote, not againſt, but according to their conſcience. But what can conſcience plead againſt the allurements of gain? If the mercantile ſpirit has been capable of infecting the mother-country with the contagion of ſelf-intereſt, is it poſſible that it ſhould not prevail in the colonies, of which it is the principle and the ſupport? Is it then true, that in proud Albion, a man who ſhould be generous enough to ſerve his country for the mere love of glory, would be looked upon as a man of another world, and of the paſt age? If ſo, her enemies have only to ſhake off this mean ſpirit, and they will one day recover from her all they have loſt.

YET, notwithſtanding the enormous contributions and public expences in the Engliſh ſettlements, their lands ſtill ſell at a very high price. The Europeans and Americans vie with each other in buying them; and this competition enhances their value. They are allured by the certainty of finding a better market for their commodities in the mother-country, than other nations can have elſewhere. Beſides, the Engliſh iſlands are leſs expoſed to invaſion and devaſtation, than thoſe of other powers, that are rich in productions and poor in ſhips. The navigation of a people born for the ſea, ſupports itſelf by its own ſtrength, in war as well as in peace.

THE

THE Engliſh take every method to increaſe the value of their iſlands. In 1766 they took off the duty of four and a half *per cent.* on all ſugars exported; and likewiſe the duties on all other commodities. This exemption has been extended to the productions of other iſlands brought into their own. The government has done more. It has undertaken to defray the charges of the garriſons that are to protect the new conqueſts, which amount to 219,427 livres *. Thus the public treaſury ſupports trade, in order to increaſe its proſperity.

What are the outward connections of the Britiſh iſlands?

THE connections of the Engliſh iſlands are greatly confined. No foreign ſhip is ſuffered to land, but at Jamaica and Dominica, which were made free ports in 1766. The ſeverity of the laws prevents the governors from eluding this important prohibition. All intercourſe with the ſeveral nations of Europe, has always been forbidden them; and in 1739, when they were permitted to carry their ſugars directly to the foreign markets, it was under ſuch reſtrictions as made it impracticable. It is the intereſt of the mother-country to reſerve the whole produce of her iſlands for her own conſumption, or her own trade. The following is the way in which they are diſtributed.

THESE colonies have never produced proviſions for their inhabitants, whether white or black. They afford neither wood, cattle, nor ſalt-fiſh. They are ſupplied with theſe neceſſaries from New-England; and ſend, in exchange, rum, pimento, ginger; few other commodities, but great quantities of molaſſes, which

* About 9,600l.

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which is uſed there inſtead of ſugar. The New-England people were never allowed to fetch ſugar in kind from the iſlands, leſt the cheapneſs of the commodity ſhould induce them to neglect molaſſes, and to give other commodities in payment for thoſe they received from the northern provinces. The mother-country was very ſenſible, that ſugars ſent from America to England, and from England to America, would find but few purchaſers; but this conſideration did not affect her. Her chief view was, not to ſell a commodity to the northern colonies which ſhe could readily diſpoſe of in Europe; but particularly to ſecure the conſumption of molaſſes, that ſhe might appropriate to herſelf all the rich produce of her iſlands. But the meaſures that were taken to bring about this important end, were ſingularly thwarted.

FRANCE, which fortunately was poſſeſſed of the richeſt iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, blinded by that imprudence which has always checked the progreſs of her fortune, never thought of ſending her molaſſes and rum to her northern ſettlements. This bad policy drew the inhabitants of New-England to the French iſlands. They conveyed thither meal, vegetables, wood, ſalt-fiſh, cattle, and even money; and brought away indigo, cotton, and ſugar, which they found means to ſend over to England; and, eſpecially, all the molaſſes they wanted for their own conſumption. It is demonſtrable, that as early as the year 1719, they carried off 20,000 hogſheads; and that by the year 1733, this

this navigation employed 300 ſhips, and near 3000 ſailors.

THIS intercourſe, which made the colonies on the continent independent of the Engliſh iſlands for the articles they wanted, excited the murmurs of the planters in the iſlands. They applied to parliament for the prohibition of a trade, which, they alledged, was detrimental both to the mother-country and to their proſperity, and beneficial to the progreſs of the French ſettlements. The North-Americans, on their ſide, replied, that if this market were ſhut againſt them, they could neither advance in the clearing of lands, nor carry on their fur trade, nor go on with their fiſhery, nor conſume national manufactures, nor add any thing to the wealth, power, or maritime ſtrength of the mother-country.

THIS grand conteſt, which more or leſs concerned every Engliſhman, occaſioned a great ferment, and produced many writings, in which party ſpirit betrayed much animoſity. But it is by theſe means that the nation comes at the knowledge of its true intereſt. When it was fully inſtructed, the parliament, to reconcile the views of all the American coloniſts, confirmed the privilege thoſe on the continent had to trade with the French; but, to favour the iſlands, they laid a duty on foreign molaſſes, ſo as to ſecure the preference to their own. This duty has often fluctuated. In 1764, the people of the iſlands petitioned that it might be put at 7 ſols, 6 deniers * per gallon: thoſe of the continent

* About 3d.

tinent wanted to pay but 3 ſols, 9 deniers *. To ſatisfy both parties, it was rated 5 ſols, 7 deniers and a half †. It has ſince been lowered to 1 ſol, 10 deniers and a half ‡; which is levied equally upon foreign and national molaſſes. But, fortunately for the Engliſh iſlands, the demand for molaſſes and rum has of late years been ſo great in North-America, and the demand for rum in England, and eſpecially in Ireland, has increaſed ſo much, that they have never been at a loſs to diſpoſe of theſe commodities. Such are the connections of the Engliſh iſlands with the northern colonies; they are much more conſiderable with the mother-country.

THE mother-country furniſhes them with wearing apparel, utenſils and ſlaves. This is about the twentieth part of what ſhe draws from them. The reaſon of this diſproportion is, that moſt of the great planters reſide in England, and their agents abroad can and do conſume but little. Their affairs are managed much in the ſame manner as thoſe of the nobility in Europe.

A MERCHANT of credit is a kind of ſteward, who ſends over whatever is wanted in the plantations that are under his management. He gives orders to the adminiſtrators, or ſtewards, who are to overlook and direct the cultures. He receives all the produce by the return of the ſhips. He pays the bills drawn upon him for the purchaſe of ſlaves. This commiſſion brings him in the freight

* Not quite 2d. † Not quite 3d.
‡ About 1d.

freight, with the intereſt and reimburſement of the money he has advanced, beſides the profit of commiſſion upon the goods bought and ſold. His profits are greater than thoſe of the proprietor himſelf.

If this method differs from an excluſive privilege, it is at leaſt attended with the ſame inconveniences; ſince it throws the whole management of the plantations into the hands of a few privateers, and ſecures to them the carriage of all the commodities they produce. So that as there is no competition for the freight, it can always be kept up at the ſame price, which runs very high.

The kind of monopoly which ſome merchants exerciſe in the Britiſh iſlands, is practiſed by the capital of the mother-country, with regard to the provinces. It is almoſt excluſively to London that all the produce of the colonies is ſent. It is in London that moſt of the owners of this produce reſide. It is in London that the profit ariſing from it is ſpent. The reſt of the nation is but very indirectly concerned in it.

But London is the fineſt port in England. It is here that ſhips are built, and manufactures are carried on. London furniſhes ſeamen for navigation, and hands for commerce. It ſtands in a temperate, fruitful, and central county. Every thing has a free paſſage in and out of it. It may be truly ſaid to be the heart of the body politic from its local ſituation. It is not of an enormous ſize, though, like all other capitals, it is rather too large; it is not a head of clay, that wants to domineer over a

coloſſus of gold. That city is not filled with proud and idle men, who only incumber and oppreſs a laborious people. It is the reſort of all the merchants; the ſeat of the national aſſembly. There the king's palace is neither vaſt nor empty. He reigns in it by his enlivening preſence. There the ſenate dictates the laws, agreeable to the ſenſe of the people it repreſents. It neither fears the eye of the monarch, nor the frowns of the miniſtry. London has not arrived to its preſent greatneſs by the influence of government, which ſtrains and over-rules all natural cauſes; but by the ordinary impulſe of men and things, and by a kind of attraction of commerce. It is the ſea, it is England, it is the whole world, that makes London rich and populous.

Summary of the riches that Europe draws from the American iſlands.

THE hiſtory of the colonies of the American Archipelago cannot be better concluded, than by a recapitulation of the riches with which Europe is ſupplied by them. This is the great object of commerce in our days; and hence the Leeward iſlands will ever hold a diſtinguiſhed place in the annals of nations; ſince, in fact, riches are the ſpring of all the great revolutions that diſturb the earth. The colonies of Aſia Minor occaſioned both the ſplendour and the downfal of Greece. Rome, which was at firſt deſirous of ſubduing nations only to govern them, was ſtopped in the progreſs of her greatneſs, when ſhe acquired the poſſeſſion of the treaſures of the eaſt. War ſeemed to ſlumber for a while in Europe, in order to invade a new world; and has ſince been ſo often renewed

there, merely to divide the ſpoils. Poverty, which will always be the lot of the greater part of mankind, and the choice of a few wiſe men, makes no diſturbance in the world. Hiſtory, therefore, can only treat of maſſacres or riches.

The riches of the Spaniſh iſlands cannot be aſcertained with any degree of preciſion. The reaſon is this. Several kinds of commodities are uſually brought thither from the continent, which are confounded with the productions of the Spaniſh leeward iſlands. Yet we may not, perhaps, be wide of the truth, if we compute the commodities which Spain annually draws from her iſlands at ten millions of livres *.

The productions of the Daniſh colonies do not amount to more than ſeven millions †. They employ 70 ſhips, and 1500 ſailors. Theſe ſettlements receive, in ſlaves and merchandiſe, 1,500,000 livres ‡. The charges of exportation and importation may be valued at 900,000 livres §; and the duties and inſurances at ten *per cent.* All expences deducted, the Daniſh iſlands muſt enjoy a clear income of about three millions and a half ‖.

The Dutch may receive from their ſettlements, commodities to the value of twenty-four millions of livres ¶. They are brought over to Holland by 150 ſhips, and 4000 ſailors. The charges of this navigation muſt amount to three millions and a half of livres **; the duties, commiſſion, and inſurance,

* 437,500l. † 306,250l. ‡ 65,625l. § 39,375l.
‖ 153,125l. ¶ 1,050,000l. ** 153,125l.

to two millions and a half *; and the goods and ſlaves ſent over, to ſix millions †. There remains clear for the proprietors about twelve millions ‡.

The produce of the Britiſh iſlands, which employs 600 ſhips, and 12,000 ſailors, may be eſtimated at ſixty-ſix millions of livres §. Independent of what the mother-country ſends to Jamaica for her contraband trade with the continent, ſhe furniſhes to the value of ſeventeen millions ‖ in ſlaves and merchandiſe, for the uſe of her colonies. The profits of the agents for this trade; the charges of navigation, duties and commiſſion put together, cannot fall far ſhort of ſixteen millions ¶. From this calculation, the clear income of the owners of the plantations will appear to be thirty-three millions **.

We ſhall not be apprehenſive of being accuſed of over-rating the produce of the French iſlands, when we reckon it at one hundred million of livres ††. Six hundred ſhips, and 18,000 ſailors are employed in the tranſport. France ſells to theſe great ſettlements, in ſlaves, in the growth of her own ſoil, or the fruits of her own induſtry, and in Portugal gold, to the value of ſixty millions ‡‡. The profit of her merchants, only at ten *per cent.* muſt be ſix millions §§. The charges of navigation at leaſt fifteen ‖‖; and the duties, inſurance and commiſſion, cannot be leſs than ſeven ¶¶. There only

*109,375l. † 262,500l. ‡ 525,000l. § 2,887,500l. ‖ 743,750l. ¶ 700,000l. ** 1,443,750l. †† 4,375,000l. ‡‡ 2,625,000l. §§ 262,500l. ‖‖ 656,250l. ¶¶ 306,250l.

only remains clear for the proprietors about twelve millions *. The contraſt in ſpecie between this trifling balance, and that of the other iſlands, muſt appear ſtriking, if we did not obſerve that in the other colonies, four out of five of the planters do not reſide; whereas, in the French colonies, nine out of ten of the proprietors live conſtantly upon the ſpot.

The reſult of this eſtimate is, that the productions of the great Archipelago of America, when brought into Europe, are worth two hundred and ſeven millions of livres †. It is not a gift that the new world makes to the old. The nations which receive this important fruit of the labour of their ſubjects ſettled in another hemiſphere, give in exchange, though with evident advantage to themſelves, the choiceſt produce of their ſoil and of their manufactures. Some conſume the whole of what they draw from their iſlands; others, and eſpecially France, make the overplus the baſis of a proſperous trade with their neighbours. Thus every nation that is poſſeſſed of property in America, if it is truly induſtrious, gains ſtill leſs by the number of ſubjects it maintains abroad without any expence, than by the population which thoſe procure it at home. To ſubſiſt a colony in America, it is neceſſary to cultivate a province in Europe; and this additional culture increaſes the inward ſtrength and real wealth of the nation. In a word, at this preſent time, the trade of the whole world is connected with that of the colonies.

The

* 525,000l. † 9,056,250l.

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THE labours of the people ſettled in thoſe iſlands, are the ſole baſis of the African trade: they extend the fiſheries and the cultures of North America, afford a good market for the manufactures of Aſia, and double, perhaps treble, the activity of all Europe. They may be conſidered as the principal cauſe of the rapid motion which now agitates our globe. This ferment muſt increaſe, as the culture of the iſlands draws nearer to perfection, and it has not yet attained to half the proſperity it is capable of.

NOTHING would be more likely to haſten this happy period, than to give up the excluſive trade, which every nation has reſerved to itſelf in its own colonies. An unlimited freedom to trade with all the iſlands, would be productive of the greateſt efforts, by exciting a general competition. Men who are inſpired with the love of humanity, and are enlightened by that ſacred fire, have ever wiſhed to ſee every obſtacle removed that intercepts a direct communication of all the ports of America, with all thoſe of Europe. The ſeveral governments, which being almoſt all corrupt in their origin, cannot be influenced by this principal of univerſal benevolence, have imagined that ſocieties moſtly founded on the ſeparate intereſt of each nation, or of one ſingle individual, ought to be formed in order to confine all the connections of every colony to its reſpective mother-country. The opinion is, that theſe reſtraining laws ſecure to each commercial nation in Europe the ſale of its own territorial productions, the means of procuring ſuch foreign commodities

as

as it may ſtand in need of, and an advantageous balance with all the other trading nations.

This ſyſtem, which was long thought to be the beſt, has been vigorouſly oppoſed, when the theory of commerce had once ſhaken off the fetters of prejudice. It has been alledged, that no nation can ſupply all the real or imaginary wants of its colonies out of its own property. There is not one that is not obliged to get ſome articles from abroad, in order to complete the cargoes for America. From this neceſſity ariſes at leaſt an indirect communication of all nations with thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions. Would it not be more eligible to convey each article to its deſtination in a direct line, than by this indirect way of exchange? This plan would be attended with leſs expence; would promote both culture and conſumption, and bring an increaſe of revenue to the public treaſury: an infinite number of advantages would accrue to the mother countries, which would make them full amends for the excluſive right they all claim, to their reciprocal injury.

These maxims are true, ſolid, and uſeful, but they will not be adopted. The reaſon is this. A great revolution is preparing in the trade of Europe, and is already too far advanced not to be completed. Every government is endeavouring to do without the aſſiſtance of foreign induſtry. Moſt of them have ſucceeded, and the reſt will not be long before they free themſelves from this dependence. Already the Engliſh and the French, who are the great manufacturers of Europe, ſee their maſter-pieces of

workmanſhip refuſed on all ſides. Will theſe two nations, which are at the ſame time the greateſt planters in the iſlands, open their ports to thoſe who force them, as it were, to ſhut up their manufactures at home? The more they loſe in the foreign markets, the leſs they will conſent to a competition in the only market they have left. They will rather ſtrive to extend it, that they may have a greater demand for their commodities, and a greater ſupply of American productions. It is by theſe returns that they will preſerve their advantage in the balance of trade, without being apprehenſive that the plenty of theſe productions will lower their value. The progreſs of induſtry in our continent muſt increaſe population and wealth, and of courſe the conſumption and value of the productions of the Antilles.

What will be the fate of the American iſlands hereafter?

But what will become of this part of the new world? Will the ſettlements, that render it ſo flouriſhing, always remain in the hands of their original poſſeſſors; or will the maſters of them be changed? If a revolution ſhould take place in them, by what means will it be brought about, and what people will reap the advantage of it? Theſe are queſtions that afford much room for conjecture, which may be aſſiſted by the following reflections.

The iſlands depend totally upon Europe for a ſupply of all their wants. Thoſe which only reſpect wearing apparel and implements of huſbandry will admit of delay; but the leaſt diſappointment, with regard to proviſions, ſpreads a general alarm, and cauſes univerſal deſolation, which rather tempts

the people to wiſh for than fear the approach of an enemy. And, indeed, it is a common ſaying in the colonies, that they will never fail to capitulate with a ſquadron ſtored with barrels of flour inſtead of gunpowder. If we pretend to obviate this inconvenience, by obliging the inhabitants to cultivate for their own ſubſiſtence, we defeat the very end of theſe ſettlements, without any real advantage. The mother country would deprive herſelf of a great part of the rich produce of her colonies, and would not preſerve them from invaſion.

In vain ſhould we hope to repulſe an invaſion by the help of negroes, born in a climate where effeminacy ſtifles the ſeeds of courage, and who are ſtill more enervated by ſlavery, and conſequently but little concerned in the choice of their tyrants. As to the white men, diſperſed in extenſive plantations, they are ſo few, that they could make but little reſiſtance. It is even a queſtion whether they would oppoſe an invaſion if they could.

All the coloniſts hold it as a maxim, that their iſlands are to be conſidered as thoſe great cities in Europe, which, lying open to the firſt comer, change their dominion without an attack, without a ſiege, and almoſt without being ſenſible of the war. The ſtrongeſt is their maſter. The inhabitants cry out with the Italians, *God ſave the conqueror*; paſſing and repaſſing from one yoke to another in the courſe of a campaign. Whether at the peace, the city returns under its former government, or remains in the hands of the victor, it has loſt nothing of its ſplendour; while towns, that

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are defended by ramparts and difficult to be taken, are always depopulated and reduced to a heap of ruins. Perhaps there is ſcarce one inhabitant in the American iſlands who does not conſider it to be a fatal prejudice to expoſe his fortune for the ſake of his country. Of what importance is it to this rapacious calculator whoſe laws he obeys, if his crops are left ſtanding? It is to enrich himſelf that he has croſſed the ſeas. If he preſerves his treaſures, his purpoſe is anſwered. Can the mother-country that forſakes him, and frequently after having tyrannized over him; that is ready to give him up, or, perhaps, to ſell him at the concluſion of a peace; have any claim to the ſacrifice of his life? It is no doubt a glorious thing to die for one's country. But a ſtate, where the proſperity of the nation is ſacrificed to forms of government; where the art of impoſing upon men is the art of training up ſubjects; where ſlaves are wanted inſtead of citizens; where war is declared and peace concluded, without conſulting the opinion or the wiſhes of the people; where evil deſigns are always countenanced by the intrigues of debauchery, or the practices of monopoly; and where uſeful plans are only adopted with ſuch impediments as prevent their being carried into execution: is this the country for which our blood ſhould be ſacrificed?

The fortifications, erected for the defence of the colonies, will ſecure them no better than the efforts of the inhabitants. Even if they were ſtronger, and better guarded and ſtored than they have ever been, they muſt always ſurrender unleſs they are ſuccoured. Should the reſiſtance hold out above

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ſix months, that circumſtance would not diſcourage the beſiegers, who, being within reach of a conſtant ſupply of refreſhments both by land and by ſea, could better endure the ſeverity of the climate, than a garriſon could reſiſt the duration of a ſiege.

THERE is no other way to preſerve the colonies but by a formidable navy. It is on the docks and in the harbours of Europe that the baſtions and ramparts of the American colonies muſt be raiſed. While the mother-country ſhelters them, as it were, under the wings of her ſhips; ſo long as ſhe ſhall fill up with her fleets the vaſt interval that ſeparates her from theſe iſlands, the offspring of her induſtry and power; her parental attention to their proſperity will ſecure their attachment to her. In future, therefore, the maritime forces will be the great object that will attract the attention of all proprietors of land in America. European policy generally ſecures the frontiers of ſtates by fortified towns; but for maritime powers, there ought, perhaps, to be citadels in the center, and ſhips on the circumference. A commercial iſland, indeed, wants no fortified towns. Her rampart is the ſea, which conſtitutes her ſafety, her ſubſiſtence, her wealth; the winds are at her command, and all the elements conſpire to promote her glory.

IN this reſpect, England may undertake any enterpriſe, and expect every kind of ſucceſs. She is now the only power that can confide in her poſſeſſions in America, and that is able to attack the colonies of her rivals. Perhaps, it will not be long ere ſhe follows the dictates of her courage. The pride

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of paſt ſucceſs; the very reſtleſſneſs inſeparable from proſperity; the burden of conqueſts, which ſeem to be the puniſhment of victory: all theſe are ſo many incentives to the renewal of war. The people of England are cruſhed under the weight of their undertakings and their national debt; their manufactures are threatened with total ruin; they are continually loſing ſome branch of trade; they cannot appeaſe the ferment of the northern colonies, but by opening new marts for their productions. The notions they have conceived of their own valour, and the terror which their arms have inſpired, would be diminiſhed by a long peace; their fleets would conſume in idleneſs; their admirals would loſe the advantages of experience. All theſe reflections are warrantable motives for hoſtilities; to a nation that has waged war before it was declared; and pretends to the dominion of all America, by the ſame right that places a deſpotic prince at the head of a nation. The firſt ſpark will kindle in America, and the ſtorm will directly fall upon the French iſlands; becauſe the reſt, except the Havannah, will voluntarily ſubmit to the yoke.

THE French ſhould, therefore, firſt prepare for the defence of America. If it can be defended, they alone can effect it, for the Dutch are no longer of any conſequence; and Spain has ſuffered all her natural powers to remain inactive, and has put the means of her ſtrength into the hands of other nations. At this time, therefore, France alone is able to raiſe a formidable navy. Philoſophers of all nations, friends of mankind, forgive a French

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writer if at this period he urges his countrymen to build ſhips. His only view is to promote the tranquillity of the earth, by wiſhing to ſee that equilibrium eſtabliſhed in the dominion of the ſeas, which now preſerves the ſecurity of the continent.

FRANCE, almoſt in the center of Europe, and placed between the Ocean and Mediterranean, unites, by her poſition and the extent of her territory, the ſtrength of land forces to the advantages of a maritime power. She can convey all her productions from one ſea to the other, without paſſing under the threatening cannon of Gibraltar, or the inſulting flag of the ſtates of Barbary. A channel, preferable to the Pactolus, pours the rich produce of her moſt beautiful provinces into both ſeas, and the treaſures of both ſeas into her choiceſt provinces. No navigating nation has the advantage of ſo ſpeedy and eaſy a communication between her ſeveral ports by land, or between her ſeveral lands by her ports. She is within reach of Spain and Portugal, which know not how to provide for their own ſuſtenance; and ſufficiently near to the Turks and Africans, whoſe trade is merely paſſive. The mildneſs of her climate procures her the ineſtimable advantage, almoſt peculiar to herſelf, of ſending out and receiving her ſhips at all ſeaſons of the year. Her roads are ſo deep, that ſhe can give her ſhips the propereſt form, both for ſwiftneſs and ſafety.

SHE is no want of articles and commodities for exportation. America and the north of Europe contend for, or divide, her wines and brandies between

between them. How many nations are there that have demands for her ſalt, her oil, her ſoap, her fruits, and even her corn! The productions of her colonies are eagerly and univerſally ſought after. But it is more particularly by her manufactures, her ſilks, and her faſhions, that ſhe regulates the taſte of all nations. Notwithſtanding all the endeavours uſed to oppoſe this prevailing paſſion, Europe is faſcinated, and will never change. This phrenzy has found its way even to England, where the legiſlators themſelves, while they enact laws to prevent it, are the firſt to break them. In vain, to avoid the heavy duties impoſed on foreign manufactures, have others tried to imitate them. The fruitfulneſs of invention will ever prevent the readieſt imitation; for the light fancy of a nation, whoſe works have all the advantage of a youthful appearance of novelty, which conſequently makes the manufactures of her neighbours always old-faſhioned, will conſtantly deceive the jealouſy and avidity of thoſe who attempt to over-reach her by this method. What ſhould we not expect from the navigation of a people, who are thus able to ſupply other nations with whatever can feed their vanity, their luxury, and their voluptuouſneſs?

No obſtacle ariſing from the nature of things could put a ſtop to this activity. France, extenſive enough not to be obſtructed by the ſurrounding powers, and ſo happily limited as not to ſink under the weight of her own greatneſs; France has in her own hands all the means of attaining to

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that power by ſea, which would complete her proſperity. A numerous population, fit for any enterpriſe, only wants encouragement to be directed to the ſea-ſervice. Even the reproach that is made to the French for having more ſailors on board their ſhips than other nations, is itſelf a proof that men are not wanting for the art, but rather that the art is not ſufficiently attended to. Yet no nation has been endowed by nature with more of that lively genius which is fit for the improvement of ſhipbuilding, or of that bodily dexterity which can ſave time and expence in the manœuvre, by the ſimplicity and celerity of the means made uſe of.

It is in the mercantile ſervice of the navy, that a nation learns to be formidable at ſea. All ſailors are naturally ſoldiers. They daily face the dangers of death; they are inured to the fatigues of labour, and the injurious effects of climates. A military marine can only be trained up by ſervice at ſea. The mercantile navy is the ſchool, and commerce the nurſery and ſupport of it. In vain would the royal treaſury of a court that has never ſeen the ſea or a ſhip, fit out fleets; the ocean ſcorns thoſe effeminate and cringing beings who ſtoop and bend before other men. Such commanders would require no other aſſiſtance from the winds than to help them in their flight. Let them remain in the capital, and leave the command of men of war to the maſters of privateers; or, rather, let the nobility, if ever they mean to be commanders at ſea, become merchants, and go themſelves on board their own trading

trading ſhips, before they make intereſt for poſts in the royal navy.

Modern ſtates have no other way to aggrandize themſelves but by maritime power. Since a kind of luxury unknown to the ancients, has infected Europe with a multitude of new taſtes, thoſe nations which can furniſh the reſt with the means of gratifying them, muſt become the moſt conſiderable; becauſe, by exerting their powers in the perils of navigation and the labours of trade, they keep their neighbours in inaction and ſenſuality; they keep, in a ſtate of dependence on their induſtry, thoſe people whom they pay for carrying on war with the very money they have drained them of by luxury. It is ſince this revolution, which hath, as it were, ſubmitted the earth to the ſea, that the moſt important political events have been determined on the ocean. Richelieu had not perceived this to be near at hand, when, to keep out the Engliſh from Rochelle, he almoſt cut off all communication between the town and the ſea. Ships would have been better than a dike; but the navy had no ſhare in his ſyſtem of enſlaving France, in order to rule over Europe. The monarch, to whoſe greatneſs he had been paving the way, imagined as he did, that that greatneſs conſiſted only in the art of conquering. After having excited the whole continent of Europe, by his enterpriſes, to take up arms, he was obliged to keep numberleſs troops in pay to withſtand that league. His kingdom ſoon became, as it were, one great camp; and his frontiers a mere hedge of fortified towns. Under that brilliant

brilliant reign the ſprings of the ſtate were conſtantly overſtretched; the government, by its own vigour, eſcaped from one danger only to fall into another. The want of a ſtanding navy was never felt till the finances were almoſt too much exhauſted to raiſe it.

Ever ſince the end of that century, in which the people, ſupported, at leaſt, under their misfortunes by the remembrance of paſt ſucceſſes, ſtill dazzled Europe with the proſpect of forty years of glory, were attached to the government that had raiſed them to ſuch a pitch of honour; and bad defiance to the rivals they had humbled; ever ſince that period, the proſperity of France has always been upon the decline, notwithſtanding the acquiſitions that have enlarged her territories. She would not have been enervated by twenty years peace, had ſhe employed thoſe powers in the improvement of her navy, which had been too long waſted in a continental war. But her marine has never been put upon a reſpectable footing. The avarice of one miniſtry; the prodigality of another; the indolence of many; little ſelfiſh views; court intrigues that guide the government; a ſeries of vices and errors; a multitude of obſcure and deſpicable cauſes have prevented the nation from becoming as great at ſea as ſhe had been on the continent, and, at leaſt, from maintaining the balance of power, if not contending for the ſuperiority. The evil is incurable, if the misfortunes ſhe has ſuſtained in the late war, and the humiliating terms ſhe has ſubmitted to at the peace, have not inſpired

BOOK XIV.

her rulers with the ſpirit of wiſdom, and attracted all their projects and all their efforts towards eſtabliſhing a formidable navy.

EUROPE waits impatiently for this revolution. She will never think her liberties ſecure, till ſhe ſees a flag upon the ocean that does not tremble before the Britiſh ſtandard. That of France is now the only one which may in time aſpire to this competition. The wiſhes of all nations are now united for the proſperity of that power which ſhall be able to defend them from one that can alone pretend to the univerſal empire of the ſeas. The ſyſtem of equilibrium requires that France ſhould augment her naval powers, more eſpecially as ſhe cannot effect this without diminiſhing her land forces. Then her influence, divided between both elements, will be formidable to none but ſuch as would diſturb its harmony. The nation itſelf requires nothing more to aſpire to this ſtate of greatneſs, than to be at liberty to advance towards it. The government muſt allow the people to exert themſelves. But, if authority contract the powers and freedom of induſtry, by obſtructing it more and more with taxes and reſtraints; if it diminiſh its vigour by endeavouring to force it; if, in attracting all to itſelf, it fall into a ſtate of dependence on thoſe who are ſubject to it; if, in order to go to America or India, it be neceſſary to paſs through the intricate windings of the capital or the court; if ſome miniſter, already great and powerful, will not immortalize his name, by delivering the colonies from the yoke of a militaty government, by alleviating

alleviating the oppreſſion of the cuſtoms upon commerce, by opening the road to preferment for thoſe who are brought up in the merchant ſervice, as well as for thoſe who are in the ſervice of the royal navy: in ſhort, if there is not a total change, inevitable ruin muſt enſue.

FRANCE has committed great miſtakes, and made many cruel ſacrifices. It is doubtful whether the riches ſhe has preſerved in the iſlands of America are an equivalent to the ſtrength ſhe has loſt on the continent of that vaſt country. It is in the north that a freſh revolution is preparing in the new world. That is to be the ſeat of our wars. There let us explore the ſecret of our future deſtiny.

END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

BOOK XV.

BOOK XV.

Reaſons why the French were ſo late in eſtabliſhing ſettlements in America.

SPAIN was miſtreſs of the rich empires of Mexico and Peru, the gold of the new world, and of almoſt all South America. The Portugueſe, after a long ſeries of victories, defeats, enterpriſes, miſtakes, conqueſts, and loſſes, had kept the moſt valuable ſettlements in Africa, in India, and in the Brazils. The French government had not even conceived it poſſible to eſtabliſh colonies, or imagined that any advantage could be derived from having poſſeſſions in thoſe diſtant regions.

THEIR ambitious views were turned entirely towards Italy. Some antient claims on the Milaneſe and the two Sicilies had involved them in expenſive wars, in which they had been engaged for a long time. Their internal commotions diverted them ſtill more from the great object of eſtabliſhing a diſtant and extenſive commerce, and from the idea

idea of increaſing their dominions by acquiſitions in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies.

THE authority of kings, though not openly conteſted, was oppoſed and eluded. Some remains of the feudal government were ſtill ſubſiſting; and many of its abuſes had not yet been aboliſhed. The prince was continually employed in reſtraining the reſtleſs ſpirit of a powerful nobility. Moſt of the provinces that compoſed the monarchy were governed by diſtinct laws and forms of their own. Every ſociety, every order in the ſtate, enjoyed peculiar privileges, which were either perpetually conteſted or carried to exceſs. The government was a complicated machine, which could only be regulated by the management of a variety of delicate ſprings. The court was frequently under a neceſſity of having recourſe to the ſhameful reſources of intrigue and corruption, or to the odious means of oppreſſion and tyranny; and the nation was continually negotiating with the prince. Regal authority was unlimited, without having received the ſanction of the laws; and the people, though frequently too independent, had yet no ſecurity for their liberty. Hence aroſe continual jealouſies, apprehenſions, and ſtruggles. The whole attention of the government was not directed to the welfare of the nation, but to the means of enſlaving it. The people were ſenſible of their wants, but ignorant of their powers and reſources. They found their rights alternately invaded or trampled upon by their nobles or their ſovereigns.

BOOK XV.

First expeditions of the French to North America.

FRANCE, therefore, ſuffered the Spaniards and Portugueſe to diſcover new worlds, and to give laws to unknown nations. Their attention was at length excited by admiral Coligny, a man of the moſt extenſive, ſteady and active genius, that ever flouriſhed in that powerful empire. This great politician, attentive to the intereſts of his country, even amidſt the horrors of a civil war, ſent John Ribaud to Florida, in 1562. This vaſt tract of North America then extended from Mexico to the country which the Engliſh have ſince cultivated under the name of Carolina. The Spaniards had paſſed it in 1512, but had made no ſettlements there. The motives that engaged them to make this diſcovery, and thoſe which induced them to relinquiſh it, are equally unaccountable.

ALL the Indians of the Caribbee iſlands believed, upon the credit of an old tradition, that nature had concealed a ſpring or fountain ſomewhere on the continent, whoſe waters had the property of reſtoring youth to all old men who were ſo fortunate as to taſte of them. This idea delighted the romantic imagination of the Spaniards. The loſs of many, who were the victims of their credulity, did not diſcourage the reſt. Far from ſuſpecting that the firſt had periſhed in an attempt, of which death would prove the moſt certain conſequence, they concluded that they did not return, becauſe they had found the art of enjoying perpetual youth, and had diſcovered a ſpot ſo delightful, that they did not chuſe to leave it.

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PONCE de LEON was the moſt famous of the navigators who were infatuated with this chimerical idea. Fully perſuaded of the exiſtence of a third world, the conqueſt of which was reſerved to advance his fame; but, thinking that the remainder of his life was too ſhort for the immenſe career that was opening before him, he reſolved to endeavour to renew it, and recover that youthful vigour ſo neceſſary to his deſigns. He immediately bent his courſe towards thoſe climates where fable had placed the fountain of youth, and diſcovered Florida; from whence he returned to Porto-Rico, viſibly more advanced in years than when he ſet out. Thus chance immortalized the name of an adventurer, who made a real diſcovery, merely by being in purſuit of an imaginary one.

THERE is ſcarce any uſeful and important diſcovery made by the human mind, that has not been rather the effect of a reſtleſs imagination, than of induſtry excited by reflection. Chance, which is the imperceptible courſe of nature, is never at reſt, and aſſiſts all men without diſtinction. Genius grows weary and is ſoon diſcouraged; it falls to the lot only of a few, and exerts itſelf merely at intervals. Its utmoſt efforts frequently ſerve only to throw it in the way of chance, and invite its aſſiſtance. The only difference between a man of genius and one of common capacity is, that the former anticipates and explores what the latter accidentally hits upon. But even the man of genius himſelf more frequently employs the advantages which chance preſents to him. It is the lapidary

who gives the value to the diamond, which the peaſant has dug up without knowing its worth.

THE Spaniards had neglected Florida, becauſe they did not diſcover there either the fountain that was to make them all grow young, or gold which haſtens the period of old age. The French found there a more real and valuable treaſure; a clear ſky, a fruitful ſoil, a temperate climate, and ſavages who were lovers of peace and hoſpitality; but they themſelves were not ſenſible of the worth of theſe advantages. Had they followed the directions of Coligny; had they tilled the ground, which only wanted the aſſiſtance of man to call forth its treaſures; had a due ſubordination been maintained among the Europeans; had not the rights of the natives of the country been violated; a colony might have been founded, which in time would have become flouriſhing and permanent. But ſuch prudent meaſures were not to be expected from the levity of the French. The proviſions were laviſhed; the fields were not ſown; the authority of the chiefs was diſregarded by untractable ſubalterns; the paſſion for hunting and war engroſſed all their attention; in ſhort, every duty was neglected. To complete their misfortune, the civil diſturbances in France diverted the ſubjects from an undertaking which had never engaged the attention of government. Theological diſputes alienated the minds and divided the hearts of all ranks of people. Government had violated that ſacred law of nature, which enjoins all men to tolerate the opinions of their fellow-creatures; and the rules of policy

which

which are inconſiſtent with an unſeaſonable exertion of tyranny. The reformed religion had made great progreſs in France, when it was perſecuted. A conſiderable part of the nation was involved in the proſcription, and took up arms.

SPAIN, though not leſs intolerant, had prevented religious diſturbances, by ſuffering the clergy to aſſume that authority which has been continually increaſing, but which, for the future, will be conſtantly on the decline. The inquiſition, always ready to oppoſe the leaſt appearance of innovation, found means to prevent the proteſtant faith from making its way into the kingdom, and by this means ſpared itſelf the trouble of extirpating it. Philip II. wholly taken up with America, and accuſtomed to conſider himſelf as the ſole proprietor of it, being informed of the attempts made by ſome Frenchmen to ſettle there, and of their being neglected by their own government, fitted out a fleet from Cadiz to deſtroy them. Menendez, who was the commander of it, landed in Florida; where he found the enemies he went in ſearch of ſettled at Carolina fort. He attacked all their intrenchments, carried them ſword in hand, and made a dreadful maſſacre. Thoſe who eſcaped it were hanged on a tree, with this inſcription: *Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*

FAR from ſeeking to revenge this inſult, the miniſtry of Charles IX. ſecretly rejoiced at the miſcarriage of a project, which, though they had approved it, was not countenanced by them; becauſe it had been contrived by the head of the Huguenots, and might reflect honour on their party. The indignation

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nation of the public only confirmed them in their reſolution of ſhewing no reſentment. It was reſerved for a private man to execute what the ſtate ought to have done.

DOMINIC de Gourgues, born at mount Marſan in Gaſcony, a ſkilful and intrepid ſeaman, an enemy to the Spaniards, from whom he had received perſonal injuries; paſſionately fond of his country, of hazardous expeditions, and of glory; ſold his eſtate, built ſome ſhips, and with a ſelect band of his own ſtamp embarked to attack the murderers in Florida. He drove them from all their poſts with incredible valour and activity, defeated them in every rencounter, and, by way of retaliation for the contemptuous inſult they had ſhewn, hung them up on trees, with this inſcription: *Not as Spaniards, but as aſſaſſins.*

HAD the Spaniards been content with maſſacring the French, the latter would never have had recourſe to ſuch cruel repriſals; but they were offended at the inſcription, and were guilty of an atrocious act, in revenge for the deriſion to which they had been expoſed. This is not the only inſtance in hiſtory which may lead one to imagine, that it is not the thing that has made the word, but the word that has made the thing.

THE expedition of the brave de Gourgues was attended with no further conſequences. He blew up the forts he had taken, and returned home, either for want of proviſions ſufficient to enable him to remain in Florida, or becauſe he foreſaw that no ſuccours were to be expected from France, or

thought that friendſhip with the natives would laſt no longer than the means of purchaſing it, or that he would be attacked by the Spaniards. He was received by all true patriots with the applauſe due to his merit; but neglected by the court, which was too deſpotic and ſuperſtitious not to ſtand in awe of virtue.

From the year 1597, when this intrepid Gaſcoon evacuated Florida, the French neglected America. Bewildered in a chaos of unintelligible doctrines, they loſt their reaſon and their humanity. The mildeſt and moſt ſociable people upon earth became the moſt barbarous and ſanguinary. Scaffolds and ſtakes were inſufficient: as they all appeared criminal in each other's eyes, they were all mutually victims and executioners. After having condemned one another to eternal deſtruction, they aſſaſſinated each other at the inſtigation of their prieſts, who breathed nothing but the ſpirit of revenge and bloodſhed. At length, the generous Henry ſoftened the minds of his ſubjects; his compaſſion and tenderneſs made them feel their own calamities; he revived their fondneſs for the ſweets of ſocial life; he prevailed upon them to lay down their arms; and they conſented to live happy under his parental laws.

In this ſtate of tranquillity and freedom, under a king who poſſeſſed the confidence of his people, they began to turn their thoughts to ſome uſeful projects, and undertook the eſtabliſhment of colonies abroad. Florida was the firſt country that naturally occurred to them. Excepting Fort St. Auguſtine,

guſtine, formerly built by the Spaniards, at the diſtance of ten or twelve leagues from the French colony, the Europeans had not a ſingle ſettlement in all that vaſt and beautiful country. The inhabitants were not a formidable ſet of men; and the ſoil had every promiſing appearance of fertility. It was likewiſe reported to be rich in gold and ſilver mines, both thoſe metals having been found there; whereas in fact they came from ſome ſhips that had been caſt away upon the coaſts. The remembrance of the great actions performed by ſome Frenchmen could not yet be erazed. Probably the French themſelves were rather afraid of irritating Spain; which was not yet diſpoſed to ſuffer the leaſt ſettlement to be made on the Gulph of Mexico, or even near it. The danger of provoking a nation, ſo formidable in thoſe parts, determined them to keep at a diſtance as much as poſſible, and therefore they gave the preference to the more northern parts of America; that road was already chalked out.

The French turn their views towards Canada.

FRANCIS I. had ſent out Verazani, a Florentine, in 1523, who only took a view of the iſland of Newfoundland, and ſome coaſts of the continent; but made no ſtay there.

ELEVEN years after, James Cartier, a ſkilful navigator of St. Malo, reſumed the projects of Verazani. The two nations, which had firſt landed in America, exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of treading in their footſteps. *What!* ſaid Francis I. pleaſantly, *ſhall the kings of Spain and Portugal quietly divide all America between them, without ſuffering me to take a ſhare as their brother? I would fain*

fain ſee the article of Adam's will that bequeaths that vaſt inheritance to them. Cartier proceeded further than his predeceſſor. He went up the river S. Lawrence; but, after having bartered ſome European commodities with the ſavages for ſome of their furs, he re-embarked for France; where an undertaking, which ſeemed to have been entered upon merely from imitation, was neglected from levity.

It happened fortunately that the Normans, the Britons, and the Biſcayans, continued to carry on the cod fiſhery on the great ſand-bank, along the coaſts of Newfoundland, and in all the adjacent latitudes. Theſe intrepid and experienced men ſerved as pilots to the adventurers who, ſince the year 1598, have attempted to ſettle colonies in thoſe deſert regions. None of thoſe firſt ſettlements proſpered, becauſe they were all under the direction of excluſive companies, which had neither abilities to chuſe the beſt ſituations, nor a ſufficient ſtock to wait for their returns. One monopoly followed another in a rapid ſucceſſion without any advantage; they were purſued with greedineſs, without a plan, or any means to carry them into execution. All theſe different companies ſucceſſively ruined themſelves; and the ſtate was no gainer by their loſs. Theſe numerous expeditions had coſt France more men, more money, and more ſhips, than other ſtates would have expended in the foundation of great empires. At laſt Samuel de Champlain went a conſiderable way up the river S. Lawrence; and in 1608 upon the borders of

that river laid the foundation of Quebec, which became the origin, center, and capital, of New France or Canada.

The unbounded track, that opened itſelf to the view of this colony, diſcovered only dark, thick and deep foreſts, whoſe height alone was a proof of their antiquity. Numberleſs large rivers came down from a conſiderable diſtance to water theſe immenſe regions. The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four of theſe meaſured from two to five hundred leagues in circumference. Theſe ſort of inland ſeas communicated with each other; and their waters, after forming the great river S. Lawrence, conſiderably increaſed the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part of the new world appeared grand and ſublime. Nature here diſplayed ſuch luxuriancy and majeſty as commanded veneration; and a thouſand wild graces, far ſuperior to the artificial beauties of our climates. Here the imagination of a painter or a poet would have been raiſed, animated, and filled with thoſe ideas which leave a laſting impreſſion on the mind. All theſe countries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This temperature, which from the poſition of the climate muſt have been extremely pleaſant, loſt nothing of its wholeſomeneſs by the ſeverity of a long and intenſe winter. Thoſe who impute this merely to the woods, ſprings, and mountains, with which this country abounds, have not taken every thing into conſideration. Others add to theſe cauſes of the cold, the elevation of the land, a pure aerial atmoſphere, ſeldom loaded with

with vapours, and the direction of the winds, which blow from north to ſouth over ſeas always frozen.

Government, cuſtoms, virtues, vices, and wars, of the ſavages that inhabited Canada.

NOTWITHSTANDING this the inhabitants of this ſharp and bleak climate were but thinly clad. Before their intercourſe with us, a cloak of buffalo or beaver ſkin, bound with a leathern girdle, and ſtockings made of a roe-buck ſkin, was the whole of their dreſs. The additions they have ſince made give great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

FEW of theſe ſavages knew any thing of huſbandry; they only cultivated maize, and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. It was their bittereſt imprecation againſt an enemy, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condeſcend to go a fiſhing; but their chief delight, and the employment of their whole life, was hunting. For this purpoſe the whole nation went out as they did to war; every family marched in ſearch of ſuſtenance. They prepared for the expedition by ſevere faſting, and never ſtirred out till they had implored the aſſiſtance of their gods; they did not pray for ſtrength to kill the beaſts, but that they might be ſo fortunate as to meet with them. None ſtaid behind except infirm and old men; all the reſt ſallied forth, the men to kill the game, and the women to dry and bring it home. The winter was with them the fineſt ſeaſon of the year: the bear, the roe-buck, the ſtag, and the elk, could not then run with

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with any degree of ſwiftneſs through ſnow that was four or five feet deep. The ſavages, who were ſtopt neither by the buſhes, the torrents, the ponds, nor the rivers, and who could out-run moſt of the ſwifter animals, were ſeldom unſucceſsful in the chace. When they were without game, they lived upon acorns; and, for want of theſe, fed upon the ſap or inner ſkin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aſpen-tree and the birch.

In the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the ſnow, and the canoes for croſſing the lakes and rivers. Theſe travelling implements, and a few earthen pots, were the only ſpecimens of art among theſe wandering nations. Thoſe, who were collected in towns, added to theſe the labours requiſite for their ſedentary way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and ſecuring them from being attacked. The ſavages at that period gave themſelves up to total inaction, in the moſt profound ſecurity. The people, content with their lot, and ſatisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that reſtleſsneſs which ariſes from a ſenſe of our own weakneſs, that loathing of ourſelves and every thing about us, that neceſſity of flying from ſolitude, and eaſing ourſelves of the burthen of life by throwing it upon others.

Their ſtature in general was beautifully proportioned, but they had more agility than ſtrength, and were more fit to bear the fatigues of the chace than hard labour. Their features were regular

regular, and there was a kind of fierceneſs in their aſpect which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was of a copper-colour; and they derived it from nature, by which all men who are conſtantly expoſed to the open air are tanned. This complexion was rendered ſtill more diſagreeable by the abſurd cuſtom that prevails among ſavages, of painting their bodies and faces, either to diſtinguiſh each other at a diſtance, to render themſelves more agreeable to their miſtreſſes, or more formidable in war. Beſides this varniſh, they rubbed themſelves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fiſh, a cuſtom common and neceſſary among them, in order to prevent the intolerable ſtings of gnats and inſects, that ſwarm in uncultivated countries. Theſe ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices, ſuppoſed to be a deadly poiſon to the moſchettoes. To theſe ſeveral methods of anointing themſelves, which penetrate and diſcolour the ſkin, may be added the fumigations they made in their huts againſt thoſe inſects, and the ſmoke of the fires they kept all the winter to warm themſelves, and to dry their meat. This was ſufficient to make them appear frightful to our people, though beautiful without doubt, or at leaſt not diſagreeable to themſelves. Their ſight, ſmell, and hearing, and all their ſenſes, were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. Theſe were few, but their ſickneſſes were ſtill fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occaſioned by too

violent exercise, or eating too much after long abstinence.

They were not a very numerous people; and possibly this might be an advantage to them. Polished nations must wish for an increase of population; because, as they are governed by ambitious rulers, who are the more inclined to war from not being personally engaged in it, they are under a necessity of fighting, either to invade or repulse their neighbours; and because they never have a sufficient extent of territory to satisfy their enterprising and expensive way of life. But unconnected nations, who are always wandering, and guarded by the deserts which divide them; who can fly when they are attacked, and whose poverty preserves them from committing or suffering any injustice; such savage nations do not feel the want of numbers. Perhaps nothing more is required, than to be able to resist the wild beasts; occasionally to drive away an insignificant enemy, and mutually to assist each other. If they had been more populous, they would the sooner have exhausted the country they inhabit, and have been forced to remove in search of another; the only, or, at least, the greatest misfortune attending their precarious way of life.

INDEPENDENT of these reflections, which, possibly, did not occur so strongly to the savages of Canada, the nature of things was alone sufficient to check their increase. Though they lived in a country abounding in game and fish, yet in some seasons, and sometimes for whole years, this resource

ſource failed them: and famine then occaſioned a great deſtruction among people who were at too great a diſtance to aſſiſt each other. Their wars, or tranſient hoſtilities, the reſult of former animoſities, were very deſtructive. Men conſtantly accuſtomed to hunt for their ſubſiſtence, to tear in pieces the animal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death, and ſee the ſhedding of blood, muſt have been ſtill more cruel in war, if poſſible, than our own people. In a word, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid in favour of inuring children to hardſhips, which miſled Peter the Great to ſuch a degree, that he ordered that none of his ſailors children ſhould drink any thing but ſea-water (an experiment which proved fatal to all who tried it); it is certain, that a great many young ſavages periſhed through hunger, thirſt, cold, and fatigue. Even thoſe whoſe conſtitution was ſtrong enough to bear the uſual exerciſes of thoſe climates, to ſwim over the broadeſt rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without ſleep, to ſubſiſt a conſiderable time without any food; ſuch men muſt have been exhauſted, and totally unfit for the purpoſes of generation. Few were ſo long-lived as our people, whoſe manner of living is more uniform and tranquil.

THE auſterity of a Spartan education; the cuſtom of inuring children to hard labour and coarſe food, has been productive of dangerous miſtakes. Philoſophers, deſirous of alleviating the miſeries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of

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hardſhips, by perſuading them that it was the moſt wholeſome and the beſt. The rich have eagerly adopted a ſyſtem, which ſerved to render them inſenſible to the ſufferings of the poor, and to diſpenſe them from the duties of humanity and compaſſion. But it is an error to imagine, that men who are employed in the more laborious arts of ſociety, live as long as thoſe who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour ſtrengthens the human frame; exceſſive labour impairs it. A peaſant is an old man at ſixty; while the inhabitants of towns, who live in affluence and with ſome degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourſcore and upwards. Even men of letters, whoſe employments are by no means favourable to health, afford many inſtances of longevity. Let not then our modern writings propagate this falſe and cruel error, to ſeduce the rich to diſregard the groans of the poor, and to transfer all their tenderneſs from their vaſſals to their dogs and horſes.

THREE original languages were ſpoken in Canada, the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were conſidered as primitive languages, becauſe each of them contained many of thoſe imitative words, which convey an idea of things by the ſound. The dialects derived from them, were nearly as many as their towns. No abſtract terms were found in theſe languages, becauſe the infant mind of the ſavages ſeldom extends its view beyond the preſent object and the preſent time; and, as they have but few ideas, they ſeldom want to repreſent ſeveral under one and the ſame ſign. Be-

ſides, the language of theſe people, almoſt always animated by a quick, ſimple, and ſtrong ſenſation, excited by the great ſcenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical caſt from their ſtrong and active imagination. The aſtoniſhment and admiration which proceeded from their ignorance, gave them a ſtrong propenſity to exaggeration. They expreſſed what they ſaw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in ſtrong colouring; and their diſcourſes were quite pictureſque. For want of terms agreed upon to denote certain compound or complex ideas, they made uſe of figurative expreſſions. What was ſtill wanting in ſpeech, they ſupplied by their geſtures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldeſt metaphors were more familiar to them in common converſation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their ſpeeches in public aſſemblies, particularly, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever ſpoke, perhaps, with more ſtrength and ſublimity than one of their chiefs. It was thought neceſſary to perſuade them to remove at a diſtance from their native ſoil. *We were born*, ſaid he, *on this ſpot, our fathers lie buried in it. Shall we ſay to the bones of our fathers, Ariſe, and come with us into a foreign land?*

It may eaſily be imagined that ſuch nations could not be ſo gentle nor ſo weak as thoſe of South America. They ſhewed that they had that degree of activity and ſtrength which the people of the northern nations always poſſeſs, unleſs they are,

like the Laplanders, of a very different ſpecies from ourſelves. They had but juſt attained to that degree of knowledge and civilization, to which inſtinct alone may lead men in the ſpace of a few years; and it is among ſuch people that a philoſopher may ſtudy man in his natural ſtate.

THEY were divided into ſeveral ſmall nations, whoſe form of government was nearly ſimilar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others, elected them; the greater part were only directed by their old men. They were mere aſſociations, formed by chance, and always free; though united, they were bound by no tie. The will of individuals was not even overruled by the general one. All deciſions were conſidered only as matter of advice, which was not binding, or enforced by any penalty. If, in one of theſe ſingular republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war againſt a common enemy, than an act of juſtice exerciſed againſt a ſubject. Inſtead of coercive power, good manners, example, education, a reſpect for old men, and parental affection, maintained peace in theſe ſocieties, where there was neither law nor property. Reaſon, which had not been miſled by prejudice, or corrupted by paſſion, as it is with us, ſerved them inſtead of moral precepts and regulations of police. Harmony and ſecurity were maintained without the interpoſition of government. Authority never incroached upon that powerful inſtinct of nature, the love of independence; which, enlightened by reaſon, produces in us the love of equality.

HENCE

HENCE ariſes that regard which the ſavages have for each other. They laviſh their expreſſions of eſteem, and expect the ſame in return. They are obliging, but reſerved; they weigh their words, and liſten with great attention. Their gravity, which appears like a kind of melancholy, is particularly obſervable in their national aſſemblies. Every one ſpeaks in his turn, according to his age, experience, and his ſervices. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections, or ill-timed applauſe. Their public affairs are managed with ſuch diſintereſtedneſs as is unknown in our governments, where the welfare of the ſtate is hardly ever promoted but from ſelfiſh views or party ſpirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of theſe ſavage orators, when his ſpeech has met with univerſal applauſe, telling thoſe who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deſerving of their confidence.

THIS mutual reſpect among the inhabitants of the ſame place, prevails between the ſeveral nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendſhip that is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance. Wandering nations, who have not the leaſt notion of increaſing their territory, never negotiate for conqueſt, or for any intereſts relative to dominion. Even thoſe who have fixed ſettlements, never contend with others for coming to live in their diſtrict, provided they do not moleſt them. The earth, ſay they, is made for all men; no one muſt poſſeſs the ſhare of two. All the politics, therefore,

therefore, of the ſavages conſiſt in forming leagues againſt an enemy who is too numerous or too ſtrong, and in ſuſpending hoſtilities that become too deſtructive. When they have agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt, or ſtring of beads, which are a kind of ſnail-ſhells. The white ones are very common; but the purple ones, which are rare, and the black, which are ſtill more ſo, are much eſteemed. They work them into a cilindrical form, bore them, and then make them up into necklaces. The branches are about a foot long, and the beads are ſtrung upon them one after another in a ſtraight line. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little ſlips of leather. The ſize, weight, and colour of theſe ſhells, are adapted to the importance of the buſineſs. They ſerve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations and individuals. They are the ſacred and inviolable pledge which is a confirmation of words, promiſes, and treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of theſe records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and by means of theſe ſigns, they tranſmit the hiſtory of the country to the ſucceeding generation.

As the ſavages poſſeſs no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A ſtriking inſtance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows, and infirm people. They liberally ſhare their ſcanty proviſion with thoſe whoſe crops have failed,

failed, or who have been unſucceſsful in hunting or fiſhing. Their tables and their huts are open night and day to ſtrangers and travellers. This generous hoſpitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public bleſſing, is chiefly conſpicuous in their entertainments. A ſavage claims reſpect, not ſo much from what he poſſeſſes, as from what he gives away. The whole ſtock of proviſions collected during a chace that has laſted ſix months, is frequently expended in one day; and he who gives the entertainment enjoys more pleaſure than his gueſts.

None of the writers who have deſcribed the manners of the ſavages have reckoned benevolence among their virtues. But this may be owing to prejudice, which has made them confound antipathy and reſentment with natural temper. Theſe people neither love nor eſteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality of conditions, which we think ſo neceſſary for the well-being of ſociety, is, in their opinion, the greateſt folly. They are ſhocked to ſee that among us, one man has more property than ſeveral others collectively, and that this firſt injuſtice is productive of a ſecond, which is, that the man who has moſt riches is on that account the moſt reſpected. But what appears to them a meanneſs below the brute creation is, that men who are equal by nature ſhould degrade themſelves ſo far as to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The reſpect we ſhew to titles, dignities, and eſpecially to hereditary nobility, they call an inſult, an outrage

rage to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods, with no other guide than the wind and ſun, or any proviſion but a bow and arrows; he acts the part of a man, and what more can be expected of him? That reſtleſs diſpoſition which prompts us to croſs ſo many ſeas in queſt of fugitive advantages, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of induſtry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all thoſe cuſtoms which inſpire us with a greater degree of vanity, in proportion as they remove us further from the ſtate of nature. Their frankneſs and honeſty is rouzed to indignation by the tricks and cunning which have been practiſed in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, ſome founded on prejudice, but frequently on reaſon, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have made repriſals, and are become harſh and cruel in their intercourſe with us. The averſion and contempt they have conceived for our manners, has always made them avoid our ſociety. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to our indulgent manner of living; whereas we have ſeen ſome Europeans forego all the conveniences of civil life, retire into the foreſts, and take up the bow and the club of the ſavage.

An innate ſpirit of benevolence, however, ſometimes brings the ſavages back to us. At the beginning of the winter a French veſſel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticoſti. The ſailors who had

eſcaped

eſcaped the rigour of the ſeaſon and the dangers of famine in this deſert and ſavage iſland, built a bark out of the remains of their ſhip, which, in the following ſpring, conveyed them to the continent. They were obſerved in a languid and expiring ſtate, by a hut filled with ſavages. *Brethren*, ſaid the chief of this lonely family, addreſſing himſelf affectionately to them, *the wretched are entitled to our pity and our aſſiſtance. We are men, and the misfortunes incident to any of the human race affect us in the ſame manner as if they were our own.* Theſe humane expreſſions were accompanied with every token of friendſhip theſe generous ſavages had it in their power to ſhew.

One thing only was wanting to complete the happineſs of the free Americans; and that was the happineſs of being fond of their wives. Nature, indeed, has in vain beſtowed on their women a good ſhape, beautiful eyes, pleaſing features, and long black hair. All theſe accompliſhments are no longer regarded than while they remain in a ſtate of independence. They no ſooner ſubmit to the matrimonial yoke, but even their huſband, who is the only man they love, grows inſenſible to thoſe charms they were ſo liberal of before marriage. The ſtate of life, indeed, to which this condition ſubjects them, is by no means favourable to beauty. Their features alter, and they loſe at once the deſire and the power of pleaſing. They are laborious, indefatigable, and active. They dig the ground, ſow, and reap; while their huſbands, who diſdain to ſtoop to the drudgeries of husbandry,

dry, amuſe themſelves with hunting, fiſhing, ſhooting with the bow, and aſſerting the dominion of man over the earth.

MANY of theſe nations allow a plurality of wives; and even thoſe that do not practiſe polygamy, have ſtill reſerved to themſelves the liberty of a divorce. The very idea of an indiſſoluble tie, never once entered the thoughts of a people who are free till death. When thoſe who are married diſagree, they part by conſent, and divide their children between them. Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reaſon than the contrary ſyſtem which prevails among chriſtians. The great ſpirit, ſay they, hath created us all to be happy; and we ſhould offend him, were we to live in a perpetual ſtate of conſtraint and uneaſineſs. This ſyſtem agrees with what one of the Miamis ſaid to one of the miſſionaries. *My wife and I were continually at variance. My neighbour diſagreed equally with his. We have exchanged wives, and are both ſatisfied.*

A celebrated writer, whom we cannot but admire, even when we differ from him in opinion, has obſerved, that love among the Americans is never productive of induſtry, genius, and character, as it is among the Europeans. The ſavages, it is ſaid, are neither acquainted with the torments nor the delights of this moſt violent of all paſſions. But if they are not ſo fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps, for want of powers or inclination to population. But the firſt wants of nature may, perhaps, reſtrain in them the

the claims of the ſecond. Their ſtrength is almoſt all exhauſted in procuring their ſubſiſtence. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leiſure of attending to the increaſe of their ſpecies. No wandering nation can ever be numerous. What muſt become of women obliged to follow their husbands a hundred leagues, with children at their breaſt or in their arms? What would become of the children themſelves if deprived of the milk that muſt neceſſarily fail during the fatigues of the journey? Hunting prevents, and war deſtroys, the increaſe of mankind. A ſavage warrior reſiſts the ſeducing arts of young women who ſtrive to allure him. When nature compels this tender ſex to make the firſt advances, and to purſue the men that avoid them; thoſe who are leſs inflamed with military ardour, than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation. But the true warriors, who have been early taught that an intercourſe with women enervates ſtrength and courage, do not ſo eaſily ſurrender. It is not, therefore, owing to natural defects that Canada is unpeopled, but to the track of life purſued by its inhabitants. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their ſtrength is employed for their own preſervation. Hunger does not permit them to attend to the paſſion of love. If the people of the ſouth ſacrifice every thing to this latter deſire, it is becauſe the former is eaſily ſatisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man conſumes but little, all the ſtrength he has to ſpare is entirely turned to population;

pulation; which is likewiſe aſſiſted by the warmth of the climate. In a climate where men conſume more than nature affords them without pains; the time and the faculties of the human ſpecies are exhauſted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

But a further proof that the ſavages are not leſs inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much fonder of their children. Their mothers ſuckle them till they are four or five years old, and ſometimes till ſix or ſeven. From their earlieſt infancy, their parents pay a regard to their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, leſt they ſhould check that free and martial ſpirit, which is one day to conſtitute their principal character. They even forbear to make uſe of ſtrong arguments to perſuade them, becauſe this would be in ſome meaſure a reſtraint upon their will. As they are only taught what they want to know, they are the happieſt children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret; and will ſometimes go ſix months after, to weep over the grave of their child; and the mother will ſprinkle it with her own milk.

The ties of friendſhip among the ſavages are almoſt as ſtrong as thoſe of nature, and more laſting. Theſe are never broken by that variety of claſhing intereſts, which, in our ſocieties, weaken even the tendereſt and moſt ſacred connections. When a man has fixed his choice, he depoſits in the breaſt of his aſſociate his inmoſt thoughts, his ſentiments, his projects, his ſorrows, and his joys. The two

friends ſhare every thing in common. Their union is for life; they fight ſide by ſide; and if one falls, the other conſtantly dies upon the body of his friend. If they are ſeparated in ſome imminent danger, each calls upon the name of his friend, and invokes his ſpirit, as his tutelar deity.

The ſavages ſhew a degree of penetration and ſagacity, which aſtoniſhes every man who has not obſerved how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds dull and inactive: becauſe we are ſeldom under a neceſſity of thinking, and have only the trouble to learn. If however they fall ſhort of perfection in every thing as the moſt ſagacious animals are obſerved to do, it is, probably, becauſe as they have no ideas but ſuch as relate to their preſent wants, the equality that ſubſiſts between them, lays every individual under a neceſſity of thinking for himſelf, and of ſpending his whole life in acquiring this common ſtock of knowledge: hence it may be reaſonably inferred, that the ſum total of ideas in a ſociety of ſavages is no more than the ſum of ideas in each individual.

Instead of abſtruſe medidations, the ſavages delight in ſongs. They are ſaid to have no variety in their ſinging; but it is uncertain whether thoſe who have heard them had an ear properly adapted to their muſic. When we firſt hear a foreign language ſpoken, the whole ſeems one continued ſound, and appears to be pronounced with the ſame tone of voice, without any modulation or proſody.

It

BOOK XV.

It is only by continued habit that we learn to diſtinguiſh the words and ſyllables, and to perceive that the ſound of ſome is dull, and that of others ſharp, as alſo that ſome are long and others ſhort. Would it not require at leaſt as much time to enable us to determine any thing certain with regard to the muſic of any nation which muſt always be ſubordinate to their language?

THEIR dances are generally an emblem of war, and they uſually dance with their weapons in their hands. There is ſomething ſo regular, rapid, and terrible, in theſe dances, that an European, when firſt he ſees them, cannot help being ſtruck with horror. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and ſcattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the ſpectators will ſurvive. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that in the firſt ages of the world, and among ſavage nations, dancing ſhould be an imitative art, and that it ſhould have loſt that characteriſtic in civilized countries, where it ſeems to be reduced to a ſet of uniform ſteps without meaning. But it is with dances as with languages, they grow abſtracted like the ideas they are intended to repreſent. The ſigns of them are more allegorical, as the minds of the people become more refined. In the ſame manner as a ſingle word, in a learned language, expreſſes ſeveral ideas; ſo, in an allegorical dance, a ſingle ſtep, a ſingle attitude, is ſufficient to excite a variety of ſenſations. It is owing to want of imagination either in the dancers, or the ſpectators, if a figured

a figured dance is not, or does not appear to be, expreſſive. Beſides, the ſavages can exhibit none but ſtrong paſſions and ferocious manners, and theſe muſt be repreſented by more ſignificant images in their dances, which are the language of geſture, the firſt and ſimpleſt of all languages. Nations living in a ſtate of civil ſociety, and in peace, have only the gentler paſſions to repreſent, which are beſt expreſſed by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It might not, however, be improper ſometimes to bring back dancing to its firſt origin, to exhibit the old ſimplicity of manners, to revive the firſt ſenſations of nature by motions which repreſent them, to depart from the antiquated and ſcientific mode of the Greeks and Romans, and to adopt the lively and ſignificant images of the rude Canadians.

THESE ſavages, always totally devoted to the purſuit of the preſent paſſion, are extravagantly fond of gaming, as is uſual with all idle people, and eſpecially of games of chance. The ſame men, who are commonly ſo ſedate, moderate, and diſintereſted, and have ſuch a command of themſelves, are outrageous, greedy and turbulent at play; they loſe their peace, their ſenſes, and all they are poſſeſſed of. Deſtitute of almoſt every thing, coveting all they ſee, and when they like it, eager to have and enjoy it, their attention is entirely turned to the moſt ſpeedy and readieſt way of acquiring it. This is a conſequence of their manners, as well as of their character. The proſpect of preſent happineſs always prevents them from diſcern-

ing the evils that may enſue. Their forecaſt does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately ſilly children and violent men. Every thing depends with them on the preſent moment.

GAMING alone would lead them to ſuperſtition, even if they were not naturally ſubject to that ſcourge of the human race. But as they have few phyſicians or empirics of this kind to have recourſe to, they ſuffer leſs from this diſtemper of the mind than more poliſhed nations, and are better diſpoſed to attend to the ſuggeſtions of reaſon which abate the violence of it. The Iroquois have a confuſed notion of a firſt Being who governs the world as he pleaſes. They never repine at the evil which this being permits. When ſome miſchance befals them, they ſay; *the man above will have it ſo*; and there is, perhaps, more philoſophy in this ſubmiſſion than in all the reaſonings and declamations of our philoſophers. Moſt other ſavage nations worſhip thoſe two firſt principles of good and evil, which occur to the human mind as ſoon as it has acquired any conception of inviſible ſubſtances. Sometimes they worſhip a river, a foreſt, the ſun or the moon; in ſhort, any beings in which they have obſerved a certain power and motion; becauſe wherever they ſee motion they cannot account for, they ſuppoſe there is a ſoul.

THEY ſeem to have ſome notion of a future ſtate; but, having no principles of morality, they do not think the next life is a ſtate of reward for virtue, and puniſhment for vice. They believe that the indefatigable huntſman, the fearleſs and mer-

eileſs warrior, who has ſlain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death paſs into a country, where he will be ſupplied with plenty of all kinds of animals to ſatisfy his hunger; whereas thoſe who are grown old in indolence and without glory, will be for ever baniſhed into a barren land, where they will be eternally expoſed to famine and ſickneſs. Their tenets are ſuited to their manners and their wants. They believe in ſuch pleaſures and ſuch ſufferings as they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy, even in their deluſions. They are, however, often tormented with dreams.

IGNORANCE is naturally prone to connect ſomething myſterious with dreams, and to aſcribe them to the agency of ſome powerful being, who takes the opportunity, when our faculties are ſuſpended and lulled aſleep, of watching over us in the abſence of our ſenſes. It is, as it were, a ſoul, diſtinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet ſee it; though futurity is always preſent to that Being who created all things.

IN the bleak and rough climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be painfully affected by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abſtinence. Then theſe ſavages have melancholy and troubleſome dreams; they imagine they are ſurrounded with enemies; they ſee their town ſurpriſed, and deluged in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends,

are carried off. When they awake, they take theſe viſions for a warning from the gods; and that fear which firſt inſpired them with this idea, adds to their natural ferocity, by the melancholy caſt it gives to their thoughts, and their gloomy complexions. The old women, who are uſeleſs in the world, dream for the ſafety of the commonwealth. Some weak old men alſo, like them too, dream on public affairs, in which they have no ſhare or influence. Young men who are unfit for war, or laborious exerciſes, will dream too, that they may bear ſome part in the adminiſtration of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted, during two centuries, to remove illuſions ſo deeply rooted. The ſavages have conſtantly replied, *You chriſtians laugh at the faith we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things infinitely more improbable.* Thus we ſee in theſe untutored nations the ſeeds of prieſtcraft, with all its train of evils.

WERE it not for theſe melancholy fits and dreams, there would ſcarce ever be any contentions among them. Europeans who have lived long in thoſe countries, aſſure us they never ſaw an Indian in a paſſion. Without ſuperſtition, there would be as few national as private quarrels.

PRIVATE differences are moſt commonly adjuſted by the majority of the people. The reſpect ſhewn by the nation to the aggrieved party, ſooths his ſelf-love, and diſpoſes him to peace. It is more difficult to prevent quarrels, or put an end to hoſtilities between two nations.

WAR

War often takes its riſe from hunting. When two companies, which were ſeparated by a foreſt a a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's ſport, they ſoon quarrel, and turn thoſe weapons againſt one another which were intended for the deſtruction of bears. This ſlight ſkirmiſh is a ſource of eternal diſcord. The vanquiſhed party vows implacable vengeance againſt the conquerors, a national hatred which will be maintained by their poſterity, and be rekindled from their aſhes. The mutual wounds which both parties ſuffer in ſkirmiſhes of this kind, ſometimes put a ſtop to theſe contentions; when on each ſide they happen to be occaſioned by ſome impetuous young men, who in the heat of youth may have been tempted to remove to a conſiderable diſtance, in order to make a trial of their military ſkill. But the contentions between whole nations are not eaſily excited.

The declaration of war, when it appears neceſſary, is not left to the judgment and deciſion of one man. The nation meets, and the chief ſpeaks. He ſtates the nature of the injury and cauſes of complaint. The matter is conſidered; the dangers and the conſequences of a rupture are weighed. The orators ſpeak directly to the point, without heſitation, without digreſſion, or without miſtaking the caſe. The arguments are diſcuſſed with a ſtrength of reaſoning and eloquence that ariſes from the evidence and ſimplicity of the matter in diſpute; and even with an impartiality which is leſs affected by their ſtrong paſſions, than it is

among us by a combination of ideas. If war be unanimouſly determined by their giving a general ſhout, the allies are invited to join in it, which they ſeldom refuſe, as they always have ſome injury to revenge, or ſome ſlain to replace by priſoners.

The ſavages next proceed to the election of a chief, or captain of the expedition; and great ſtreſs is laid upon phyſiognomy. This might be a very fallacious, and even ridiculous, way of forming a judgment of men, where they have been trained up from their infancy to diſguiſe their real ſentiments, and where, by a conſtant practice of diſſimulation and artificial paſſions, the countenance is no longer expreſſive of the mind. But a ſavage, who is ſolely guided by nature, and is acquainted with its workings, is ſeldom miſtaken in the judgment he forms at firſt ſight. The chief requiſite, next to a warlike aſpect, is a ſtrong voice; becauſe, in armies that march without drums or clarions, in order more effectually to ſurpriſe the enemy, nothing is ſo proper to ſound an alarm, or to give the ſignal for the onſet, as the terrible voice of a chief who ſhouts and ſtrikes at the ſame time. But the beſt recommendations for a general are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boaſt of his victories, in order that he may be the firſt to expoſe himſelf to march foremoſt to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to ſhew what he will do; and the ſavages think ſelf-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can ſhew his ſcars.

He

He who is choſen to be chief, and to lead on the reſt in the path of glory, never fails to harangue them. "Comrades, ſays he, the bones of our "brethren are ſtill uncovered. They cry out "againſt us; we muſt ſatisfy them. Young men, "to arms; fill your quivers; paint yourſelves with "gloomy colours that may ſtrike terror. Let the "woods ring with our war-ſongs. Let us ſooth "the dead with the ſhouts of vengeance. Let us "go and bathe in the blood of our enemies, take "priſoners, and fight as long as water ſhall flow "in the rivers, and as long as the ſun and moon "ſhall remain fixed in the firmament."

At theſe words thoſe brave men, who are eager for war, go to the chief, and ſay, *We will ſhare the danger with thee. So you ſhall*, replies the chief, *we will ſhare it together.* But as no perſuaſions are made uſe of to induce any one to join the army, leſt a falſe point of honour ſhould compel men of no courage to take the field, a man muſt undergo many trials before he can be admitted as a ſoldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy, ſhould betray the leaſt impatience, when, after long abſtinence, he is expoſed to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, the intenſe froſts of the night, or the ſtings of inſects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are the ſoldiers of our militias and armies formed in this manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is ours! Men who have not been able to eſcape being preſſed into the ſervice, or could not procure an exemption by purchaſe,

or by virtue of ſome privilege, march heavily along, with downcaſt looks, and pale dejected faces, before a magiſtrate, whoſe office is odious to the people, and whoſe honeſty is doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents ſeem to be following their ſon to the grave. A black ſcroll, iſſuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A diſtracted mother in vain preſſes her ſon to her boſom, and ſtrives to detain him; he is torn from her arms, and ſhe bids him an eternal farewel, curſing the day of her marriage, and that of her delivery. It is not certainly by ſuch ſacrifices that good ſoldiers are to be acquired. It is not with ſuch ſcenes of diſtreſs and conſternation that the ſavages go to meet victory. They march out in the midſt of feſtivity, ſinging and dancing. The young married women follow their huſbands for a day or two, without ſhewing any ſigns of grief or ſorrow. Theſe women, who do not even utter a groan in the pangs of child-birth, would ſcorn to ſoften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by the tears even of tenderneſs and compaſſion.

The weapons of theſe ſavage nations are a kind of ſpear, armed with ſharp bones, and a ſmall club of very hard wood, of a round figure, and with one cutting edge. Inſtead of this laſt, ſince their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make uſe of a hatchet, which they manage with amazing dexterity. Moſt of them have no inſtrument of defence; but if they attack the paliſſades that ſurround a town, they cover their body with a thin

plank,

plank. Some of them uſed to wear a kind of cuiraſs made with plaited reeds; but they left it off, on finding it was not proof againſt fire arms.

The army is followed by dreamers, who aſſume the name of jugglers, and are too often ſuffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors, who are almoſt naked, that they may be the more alert in battle, rub their bodies with coal, to appear more terrible, or with mould, that they may not be ſo eaſily ſeen at a diſtance, and by that means better able to ſurpriſe the enemy. Notwithſtanding their natural intrepidity and averſion for all diſguiſe, their wars are carried on with artifice. Theſe ſtratagems, common to all nations, whether ſavage or civilized, are become neceſſary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally deſtroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to conſiſt in bringing home all their companions, rather than in ſhedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is prepared. Theſe people, whoſe ſenſes have never been impaired, are extremely quick in their ſmell, and can diſcover the places where men have trod. By the keenneſs of that and of their ſight, it is ſaid they can trace footſteps that are made upon the ſhorteſt graſs, upon the dry ground, and even upon ſtone; and from the nature of the footſteps can diſcover to what nation the adventurers belong. Perhaps, they may do this by the leaves from the foreſts which always cover the ground.

When they are ſo fortunate as to ſurpriſe the enemy, they diſcharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon them with their clubs or hatchets. If they are upon their guard, or well intrenched, they retreat if they can; if not, they fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party diſpatch the wounded whom they cannot carry off, ſcalp the dead, and take ſome priſoners.

The conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previouſly engraven upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family, and eſpecially his own picture; that is to ſay, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all theſe enſigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the ſtump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with ſeveral colours. To this they add the hiſtory, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign in hieroglyphic characters. Next to the picture of the general, the numbers of his ſoldiers are marked by ſo many lines; of the priſoners pointed out by ſo many little images, and that of the dead by ſo many human figures without heads. Such are the expreſſive and technical ſigns which, in all original ſocieties, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and embarraſs the minds of the learned.

The hiſtory of an Indian war is but a ſhort one; they make haſte to deſcribe it, for fear the enemy ſhould rally and fall upon them. The conqueror glories in a precipitate retreat, and never

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ſtops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmeſt tranſports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauſes of his countrymen. A debate then enſues how the priſoners, who are the only advantage of their victory, ſhall be diſpoſed of.

THE moſt fortunate of the captives are thoſe who are choſen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action, or in former battles. This adoption has been wiſely contrived, to perpetuate nations which would ſoon be deſtroyed by frequent wars. The priſoners being once incorporated into a family, become couſins, uncles, fathers, brothers, husbands; in ſhort, they ſucceed to any degree of conſanguinity, in which the deceaſed ſtood, whoſe place they ſupply; and theſe affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the ſame time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from being averſe for attaching themſelves with all proper affection to the family that has adopted them, they will not refuſe even to take up arms againſt their own countrymen. Yet this is ſurely a ſtrange inverſion of the ties of nature. They muſt be very weak men, thus to ſhift the object of their regard with the viciſſitudes of fortune. The truth is, that war ſeems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himſelf alone. Hence ariſes that union between friends among the ſavages, which is obſerved to be ſtronger than that which ſubſiſts between relations. Thoſe who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached than thoſe who are born together, or

under

under the ſame roof. When war or death has diſſolved that conſanguinity which is cemented by nature, or has been formed by choice, the ſame fate which loads the ſavage with chains, gives him new relations and friends. Cuſtom and common conſent have authoriſed this ſingular law, which undoubtedly ſprang from neceſſity.

But it ſometimes happens that a priſoner refuſes this adoption; ſometimes that he is excluded from it. A tall handſome priſoner had loſt ſeveral of his fingers in battle. This circumſtance was not noticed at firſt. *Friend*, ſaid the widow to whom he was allotted, *we had choſen you to live with us; but in the condition you appear, unable to fight and to defend us, of what uſe is life to you! Death is certainly preferable.* *I am of the ſame opinion*, anſwered the ſavage. *Well then*, replied the woman, *this evening you ſhall be tied to the ſtake. For your own glory, and for the honour of our family who have adopted you, remember to behave like a man of courage.* He promiſed he would, and kept his word. For three days he endured the moſt cruel torments with a conſtancy and chearfulneſs that ſet them all at defiance. His new family never forſook him, but encouraged him by their applauſe, and ſupplied him with drink and tobacco in the midſt of his ſufferings. What a mixture of virtue and ferocity! Every thing is great in theſe people who are not enſlaved. This is the ſublime of nature in all its horrors and its beauties.

The captives whom none chuſe to adopt, are ſoon condemned to death. The victims are prepared

pared for it by every thing that may tend to inſpire them with a fondneſs for life. The beſt fare, the kindeſt uſage, the moſt endearing names, are laviſhed upon them. They are even ſometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their ſentence. Is this compaſſion, or is it a refinement of barbarity? At laſt a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. *Brother*, ſays he, *be patient, you are going to be burnt. Very well, brother*, ſays the priſoner, *I thank you.*

THESE words are received with general applauſe; but the women are the moſt violent in their expreſſions of the common joy. She to whom the priſoner is delivered up, inſtantly invokes the ſhade of a father, a huſband, a ſon, the deareſt friend, whoſe death is ſtill unrevenged. *Draw near*, ſhe cries, *I am preparing a feaſt for thee. Come and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. They will apply hot hatchets all over his body: They will pull off his hair: They will drink out of his ſkull: Thou ſhalt be avenged and ſatisfied.*

THIS furious woman then ruſhes upon her victim, who is tied to a poſt near the fiery pile, and by ſtriking or maiming him, ſhe gives the ſignal for the intended cruelties. There is not woman, or child, in the clan whom this ſight has brought together, who does not take a part in torturing and ſlaying the miſerable captive. Some pierce his fleſh with firebrands; others cut it in ſlices; ſome tear off his nails; while others cut off his fingers, roaſt them, and devour them before his face. Nothing

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BOOK XV.

ſtops his executioners but the fear of haſtening his end: they ſtudy to prolong his ſufferings for whole days, and ſometimes they make him linger for a week.

In the midſt of theſe torments, the hero with great compoſure ſings his death-ſong; inſults his enemies, upbraids them for their weakneſs, tells them they know not how to revenge the death of their relations whom he has ſlain, and excites them by outrages or intreaties to a further exertion of their cruelties. It is a conflict between the victim and his tormentors; a dreadful challenge between conſtancy in ſuffering, and obſtinacy in torturing. But the ſenſe of glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of enthuſiaſm ſuſpends, or wholly benumbs, all ſenſe of pain; or whether cuſtom and education alone produce theſe prodigies of heroiſm, certain it is, that the ſufferer dies without ever ſhedding a tear or heaving a ſigh.

How ſhall we account for this inſenſibility? Is it owing to the climate, or to the manner of life? Colder blood, thicker humors, a conſtitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampneſs of the air and the ground, may doubtleſs blunt the irritability of the nervous ſyſtem in Canada. Men who are conſtantly expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunting, and the perils of war, contract ſuch a rigidity of fibres, ſuch a habit of ſuffering, as makes them inſenſible to pain. It is ſaid the ſavages are ſcarce ever convulſed in the agonies of death, whether they die of ſickneſs or of a wound. As they have no apprehenſions,

either

either of the approaches or the conſequences of death, their imagination does not ſuggeſt that artificial ſenſibility againſt which nature has guarded them. Their whole life, whether conſidered in a natural or moral view, is calculated to inſpire them with a contempt for death, which we ſo much dread; and to enable them to overcome the ſenſe of pain, which is increaſed by our indulgences.

But a circumſtance ſtill more aſtoniſhing in the character of the Indians than their reſolution in ſupporting tortures, is the rancour that appears in their revenge. It is dreadful to think that man may become the moſt cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not proſecuted with cruelty either among nations, or between individuals who are governed by good laws; which, at the ſame time that they protect the ſubject, reſtrain him from committing injuries. Vengeance is not a very lively principle in wars that are carried on between great nations, becauſe they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in thoſe petty nations, where a conſiderable ſhare of the power of the ſtate belongs to each individual, where the loſs of one man endangers the whole community, war is nothing elſe than a ſpirit of revenge that actuates the whole body. Among independent men, who entertain a degree of eſteem for themſelves which can never be felt by men who are under ſubjection; among ſavages whoſe affections are very lively and confined to a few objects, injuries muſt neceſſarily be reſented to the greateſt degree, becauſe they affect the perſon in the moſt ſenſible manner: the aſſaſſination of a friend, of a ſon, of a brother, or of a

fellow

fellow citizen, muſt be avenged by the death of the aſſaſſin. Theſe beloved ſhades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the foreſts, amidſt the mournful accents of the birds of night; they appear in the phoſphorus and in the lightening; and ſuperſtition pleads for them in the afflicted or incenſed hearts of their friends.

When we conſider the hatred which the hordes of theſe ſavages bear to each other; the hardſhips they undergo; the ſcarcity they are often expoſed to; the frequency of their wars; the ſmall number of inhabitants; the numberleſs ſnares we lay for them; we cannot but foreſee that, in leſs than three centuries, the whole race will be extinct. What judgment will poſterity form of this ſpecies of men, who will exiſt only in the deſcriptions of travellers? Will not the accounts given of the ſavages appear to them in the ſame light as the fables of antiquity do to us? It will ſpeak of them, as the Centaurs and Lapithæ are ſpoken of at preſent. How many contradictions will not poſterity diſcover in their cuſtoms and manners! Will not ſuch of our writings as may then have eſcaped the deſtructive hand of time, paſs for romantic inventions, like thoſe which Plato has left us concerning the ancient Atlantica?

The French imprudently take a part in the wars of the ſavages.

The character of the North Americans, as we have deſcribed it, had ſingularly diſplayed itſelf in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. Theſe two nations, the largeſt in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former,

former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies, who in return ſhared with them the fruits of their chace. Connected by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the ſeaſon when all the labours of agriculture were interrupted by the ſnow on the ground, they lived together. The Algonquins went a hunting; and the Iroquois ſtaid at home, to ſkin the beaſts, cure the fleſh, and dreſs the hides.

It happened one year that a party of Algonquins, who were not very dextrous, or much uſed the chace, proved unſucceſsful. The Iroquois, who attended them, deſired leave to try whether they ſhould ſucceed better. This requeſt, which had ſometimes been complied with, was not granted. Irritated at this unſeaſonable refuſal, they went out privately in the night, and brought home a great number of animals. The Algonquins greatly mortified, to blot out the very remembrance of their diſgrace, waited till the Iroquois huntſmen were aſleep, and put them all to death. This maſſacre occaſioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded juſtice, which was haughtily refuſed; and they were given to underſtand that they muſt not expect the ſmalleſt ſatisfaction.

The Iroquois, enraged at this contemptuous treatment, vowed that they would either be revenged, or that they would periſh in the attempt. But, not being powerful enough to venture to attack their haughty adverſaries, they removed to a greater diſtance in order to try their ſtrength,

and improve their military ſkill, by making war againſt ſome leſs formidable nations. As ſoon as they had learnt to approach like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they expreſs themſelves, they were no longer afraid to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried on a war againſt them with a degree of rancour proportionable to their reſentment.

It was juſt at the time when theſe animoſities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their firſt appearance in that country. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St. Lawrence; the Algonquins, who were ſettled upon its banks, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were diſperſed about the lake that bears that name; and ſome leſs conſiderable nations, who wandered about in the intermediate ſpaces; were all inclined to favour the ſettlement of the ſtrangers: theſe ſeveral nations combined againſt the Iroquois, and, unable to withſtand them, imagined that they might find in their new gueſts an unexpected reſource, which would inſure them ſucceſs. From the opinion they entertained of the French, which ſeemed as if it were formed upon a thorough knowledge of their character, they flattered themſelves they might engage them in their quarrel, and were not diſappointed. Champlain, who ought to have availed himſelf of the ſuperior knowledge of the Europeans to effect a reconciliation between the Americans, did not even attempt it. He warmly eſpouſed the intereſts

reſts of his neighbours, and accompanied them in purſuit of their enemy.

THE country of the Iroquois was near eighty leagues in length, and more than forty in breadth. It was bounded by the lake Erie, the lake Ontario, the river St. Lawrence, and the celebrated countries ſince known by the names of New-York and Penſylvania. The ſpace between theſe vaſt limits was watered by ſeveral fine rivers, and was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thouſand warriors into the field; though they are now reduced to leſs than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or aſſociation, not unlike that of the Switzers or the Dutch. Their deputies met once a year, to hold their feaſt of union, and to deliberate on the intereſts of the commonwealth.

THOUGH the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies who had ſo often been conquered, they were not unprepared. The engagement was begun with equal hopes on both ſides; one relying on their uſual ſuperiority; the other on the aſſiſtance of their new ally, whoſe fire-arms could not fail of inſuring the victory. And, indeed, no ſooner had Champlain and the two Frenchmen who attended him fired a ſhot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmoſt amazement and conſternation.

THIS alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of changing their mode of defence. In the next campaign, they judged it neceſſary to

intrench themſelves, to elude the force of weapons they were unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffectual. Notwithſtanding an obſtinate reſiſtance, their intrenchments were forced by the Indians, ſupported by a briſker fire from a greater number of Frenchmen then appeared in the firſt expedition. The Iroquois were almoſt all killed or taken. Thoſe who had eſcaped from the engagement were precipitated into a river and drowned.

THIS nation would probably have been deſtroyed, or compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in 1610 founded the colony of New Belgia in their neighbourhood, furniſhed them with arms and ammunition. Poſſibly too they might ſecretly foment their diviſions, the furs taken from the enemy during the continuance of hoſtilities being a greater object than thoſe they could procure from their own chace. However this may be, this connection reſtored the balance between both parties. Various hoſtilities and injuries were committed by each nation, which weakened the ſtrength of both. This perpetual ebb and flow of ſucceſs, which, in governments actuated by motives of intereſt rather than of revenge, would infallibly have reſtored tranquillity, ſerved but to increaſe animoſities, and to exaſperate a number of little clans, bent upon each other's deſtruction. The conſequence was, that the weakeſt of theſe petty nations were ſoon deſtroyed; and the reſt were gradually reduced to nothing.

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The French ſettlement makes no progreſs. The cauſe of this.

THESE deſtructive events did not however contribute to advance the power of the French. In 1626 they had only three wretched ſettlements, ſurrounded with pales. The largeſt of theſe contained but fifty inhabitants, including men, women and children. The climate had not proved deſtructive to the people ſent there: though ſevere, it was wholeſome and the Europeans ſtrengthened their conſtitutions without endangering their lives. The little progreſs they made was entirely owing to an excluſive company, whoſe chief deſigns were not ſo much intended to create a national power in Canada, as to enrich themſelves by the fur trade. This evil might have been immediately removed, by aboliſhing this monopoly, and allowing a free trade; but it was not then time to adopt ſo ſimple a theory. The government, however, choſe only to employ a more numerous aſſociation, compoſed of men of greater property and credit.

THEY gave them the diſpoſal of the ſettlements that were or ſhould be formed in Canada, together with a power of fortifying and governing them as they thought proper, and of making war or peace, as ſhould beſt promote their intereſt. The whole trade by ſea and land was allowed them for a term of fifteen years, except the cod and whale fiſheries, which were left open to all. The beaver and all the fur trade was granted to the company for ever.

To all theſe were added further encouragements. The king made the company a preſent of two

large ſhips, conſiſting of ſeven hundred men. Twelve of the principal were raiſed to the rank of nobility. Gentlemen, and even the clergy, already too rich, were invited to ſhare in this trade. The company were allowed the liberty of ſending and exporting all kinds of commodities and merchandiſe, free of any duty whatſoever. A perſon, who exerciſed any trade in the colony for the ſpace of ſix years, was entitled to the freedom of the ſame trade in France. The laſt favour granted them was the free entry of all goods manufactured in thoſe diſtant regions. This ſingular privilege gave the workmen of New France an infinite advantage over thoſe of the mother country, who were encumbered with a variety of duties, letters of maſter-ſhip, charges for ſtamps, and with all the impediments which ignorance and avarice had multiplied without end.

In return for ſo many marks of partiality, the company, which had a capital of a hundred thouſand crowns *, engaged to bring into the colony, in the year 1628, which was the firſt year they enjoyed their privilege, two or three hundred artificers of ſuch trades as were fitteſt for their purpoſe; and ſixteen thouſand men before the year 1643. They were to provide them with lodging and board, to maintain them for three years, and afterwards to give them as much cleared land as would be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, with a ſufficient quantity of grain to ſow it the firſt year.

* 13,125 l.

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FORTUNE did not ſecond the endeavours of government in favour of the new company. The firſt ſhips they fitted out were taken by the Engliſh, who were lately at variance with France, on account of the ſiege of Rochelle. Richelieu and Buckingham, who were enemies from jealouſy, from perſonal character, from ſtate intereſt, and from every motive that can excite an irreconcileable enmity between two ambitious miniſters, took this opportunity to ſpirit up the two kings they governed, and the two nations they wanted to oppreſs. The Engliſh, who fought for their intereſts, gained the advantage over the French; and the latter loſt Canada in 1629. The council of Lewis XIII. were ſo little acquainted with the value of this ſettlement, that they were inclined not to demand the reſtitution of it; but the pride of the leading man, who, being at the head of the company, conſidered the encroachments of the Engliſh as a perſonal inſult, prevailed with them to alter their opinion. They met with leſs difficulty than they expected; and Canada was reſtored to the French in 1632 by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye.

THE French were not taught by adverſity. The ſame ignorance, the ſame negligence, prevailed after the recovery of Canada as before. The monopolizing company fulfilled none of their engagements. This breach of promiſe, far from being puniſhed, was, in a manner, rewarded by a prolongation of their charter. The clamours of all Canada were diſregarded at ſuch a diſtance; and

the deputies, ſent to repreſent its wretched ſituation, were denied acceſs to the throne, where timid truth is never ſuffered to approach, but is awed into ſilence by threats and puniſhments. This behaviour, equally repugnant to humanity, private intereſt and good policy, was attended with ſuch conſequences as might naturally be expected from it. Commerce declined, as the communication was too dangerous. The Indians, weakly ſupported by their allies the French, were continually flying before their old enemy, whom they were accuſtomed to dread. The Iroquois, reſuming their ſuperiority, openly boaſted that they ſhould compel the ſtrangers to quit the country, after having ſeized upon ſome of their children, to replace ſuch as they had loſt of their own. The French themſelves, forgotten by their mother country, and unable to gather-in their ſcanty crops without hazard of their lives, were determined to abandon a ſettlement ſo ill ſupported. Such was the deplorable ſtate of the colony, that it was reduced to ſubſiſt upon the charities which the miſſionaries received from Europe.

The French are rouzed from their inactivity. Means by which this change was effected.

THE French miniſtry, at length awakened from their lethargy by that general commotion which at that time agitated every nation, ſent a body of four hundred well diſciplined troops to Canada in 1662. This corps was reinforced two years after by the regiment of Carignan. The French gradually recovered an abſolute ſuperiority over the Iroquois. Three of their nations, alarmed at their loſſes, made propoſals for an accommodation; and the

the other two were so much weakened, that they were induced to accede to it in 1668. At this time the colony first enjoyed a profound peace; which paved the way for its prosperity, and a freedom of trade contributed to secure it. The beaver trade alone continued to be monopolized.

This revolution in affairs excited industry. The former colonists, whose weakness had till then confined them within their settlements, now ventured to extend their plantations, and cultivated them with greater confidence and success. All the soldiers, who consented to settle in this part of the world, obtained their discharge, together with a grant of some property. The officers had lands given them in proportion to their rank. The former settlements were improved; and new ones established, wherever the interest or safety of the colony required it. This spirit and activity occasioned an increase of traffic with the Indians, and revived the intercourse between both continents. This prosperity seemed likely to receive additional advantages from the care taken by the superintendants of the colony, not only to preserve friendship with the neighbouring nations, but likewise to establish peace and harmony among themselves. Not a single act of hostility was committed throughout a tract of four or five hundred leagues; a circumstance, perhaps, unheard-of before in North America. It should seem that the French had kindled the war at their arrival, only to extinguish it the more effectually.

But this concord could not continue among people who were always armed for the chace, unleſs the power that had effected it ſhould preſerve it by the ſuperiority of its forces. The Iroquois, finding this precaution was neglected, reſumed that reſtleſs diſpoſition ariſing from their love of revenge and dominion. They were, however, careful to continue on good terms with all who were either allies or neighbours to the French. Notwithſtanding this moderation, they were told that they muſt immediately lay down their arms, and reſtore all the priſoners they had taken, or expect to ſee their country deſtroyed, and their habitations burnt down. This haughty ſummons incenſed their pride. They anſwered, that they ſhould never ſuffer the leaſt encroachment on their independence; and that they ſhould make the French ſenſible, that they were friends not to be neglected, and enemies not to be deſpiſed. But, as they were ſtaggered with the air of authority that had been aſſumed, they complied in part with the terms required of them, and the affair was thus compromiſed.

But this kind of humiliation rather increaſed the reſentment of a people more accuſtomed to commit than to ſuffer injuries. The Engliſh, who in 1664 had diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch of New Belgia, and remained maſters of the territory they had acquired, which they had called New York, availed themſelves of the diſpoſitions of the Iroquois. They not only excited the ſpirit of diſcord, but added preſents to induce them to break with the French.

The

The ſame artifices were uſed to ſeduce the reſt of their allies. Thoſe who adhered to their allegiance were attacked. All were invited, and ſome compelled, to bring their beaver and other furs to New York, where they ſold at a higher price than in the French colony.

DENONVILLE, who had lately been ſent to Canada to enforce obedience to the authority of the proudeſt of monarchs, was impatient of all theſe inſults. Though he was in a condition not only to defend his own frontiers, but even to encroach upon thoſe of the Iroquois; yet, ſenſible that this nation muſt not be attacked without being deſtroyed, it was agreed that the French ſhould remain in a ſtate of ſeeming inaction, till they had received from Europe the neceſſary reinforcements for executing ſo deſperate a reſolution. Theſe ſuccours arrived in 1687; and the colony had then 11,249 perſons, of whom about one third were able to bear arms.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſuperiority of forces, Denonville had recourſe to ſtratagem; and diſhonoured the French name among the ſavages by an infamous perfidy. Under pretence of terminating their differences by negotiation, he baſely abuſed the confidence which the Iroquois repoſed in the Jeſuit Lamberville, to allure their chiefs to a conference. As ſoon as they arrived, they were put in irons, embarked at Quebec, and ſent to the gallies.

ON the firſt report of this treachery, the old men ſent for their miſſionary, and addreſſed him in the

the following manner: "We are authorized by "every motive to treat you as an enemy, but we "cannot reſolve to do it. Your heart has had no "ſhare in the inſult that has been put upon us; "and it would be unjuſt to puniſh you for a "crime you deteſt ſtill more than ourſelves. But "you muſt leave us. Our raſh young men might "conſider you in the light of a traitor, who has de-"livered up the chiefs of our nation to ſhameful "ſlavery." After this ſpeech, theſe ſavages, whom the Europeans have always called barbarians, gave the miſſionary ſome guides, who conducted him to a place of ſafety; and then both parties took up arms.

THE French preſently ſpread terror among the Indians bordering upon the great lakes; but Denonville had neither the activity nor the expedition neceſſary to improve theſe firſt ſucceſſes. While he was taken up in deliberating, inſtead of acting, the campaign was cloſed without the acquiſition of any permanent advantage. This increaſed the boldneſs of the Iroquois who lived near the French ſettlements, where they repeatedly committed the moſt dreadful ravages. The planters, finding their labours deſtroyed by theſe depredations, which deprived them of the means of repairing the damages they had ſuſtained, ardently wiſhed for peace. Denonville's temper coincided with their wiſhes; but it was no eaſy matter to pacify an enemy rendered implacable by ill-uſage. Lamberville, who ſtill maintained his former aſcendent over them, made overtures of peace, which were liſtened to.

WHILE theſe negotiations were carrying on, a Machiavel, born in the foreſts, known by the name of Le Rat, the braveſt, the moſt reſolute, the moſt intelligent ſavage ever found in the wilds of North America, arrived at Fort Frontenac with a choſen band of Hurons, fully determined upon exploits worthy of the reputation he had acquired. He was told that a treaty was actually on foot; that the deputies of the Iroquois were upon the road to conclude it at Montreal; and that it would be an inſult upon the French governor if they ſhould carry on their hoſtilities againſt a nation with which they were negotiating a peace.

LE RAT, piqued that the French ſhould thus enter into negotiations without conſulting their allies, reſolved to puniſh them for their preſumption. He lay in wait for the deputies; ſome of which were killed, and the reſt taken priſoners. When the latter told him the purport of their voyage, he feigned the greater ſurpriſe, as Denonville, he ſaid, had ſent him to intercept them. In order to carry on the deceit more ſucceſsfully, he immediately releaſed them all, except one, whom he pretended to keep, to replace one of his Hurons who had been killed in the fray. He then haſtened to Michillimakinac, where he preſented his priſoner to the French commandant, who, not knowing that Denonville was treating with the Iroquois, cauſed the unhappy ſavage to be put to death. Immediately after this, Le Rat ſent for an old Iroquois, who had long been a priſoner among the Hurons, and gave him his liberty to go and

acquaint

acquaint his nation, that, while the French were amuſing their enemies with negotiations, they continued to take priſoners and murder them. This artifice, worthy of the moſt infamous European policy, ſucceeded as the ſavage Le Rat deſired. The war was renewed with greater fury than ever, and laſted the longer, as the Engliſh, who were lately at variance with France, on account of the depoſition of James II, thought it their intereſt to make an alliance with the Iroquois.

An Engliſh fleet, which ſailed from Europe in 1690, appeared before Quebec in October, to lay ſiege to the place. They had reaſon to expect but a faint reſiſtance, as the ſavages were to make a powerful diverſion, to draw off the principal land forces of the colony. But they were compelled ſhamefully to relinquiſh the enterpriſe, after having ſuſtained great loſſes. The cauſes of this diſappointment merit ſome diſcuſſion.

When the Britiſh miniſtry projected the reduction of Canada, they determined that the land and ſea forces ſhould arrive there at the ſame time. This wiſe plan was executed with the utmoſt exactneſs. As the ſhips were ſailing up the river S. Lawrence, the troops marched by land, in order to reach the ſcene of action at the ſame inſtant as the fleet. They were nearly arrived, when the Iroquois who conducted and ſupported them, recollected the hazard they ran in leading their allies to the conqueſt of Quebec. Situated as we are, ſaid they, in a council they held, between two European nations, each powerful enough to deſtroy us, both intereſted

tereſted in our deſtruction, when they no longer ſtand in need of our aſſiſtance; what better meaſure can we take, than to prevent the one from being victorious over the other? Then will each of them be compelled to court our alliance, or to bribe us to a neutrality. This ſyſtem, which ſeemed to be dictated by the ſame kind of deep policy as that which directs the balance of Europe, determined the Iroquois to return to their reſpective homes under various pretences. Their defection obliged the Engliſh to retreat; and the French, now in ſecurity on their lands, united all their forces with as much unanimity as ſucceſs for the defence of their capital.

The Iroquois, from motives of policy, ſtifled their reſentment againſt the French, and were attached rather to the name than to the intereſts of England. Theſe two European powers, therefore, irreconcileable rivals to each other, but ſeparated by the territory of a ſavage nation, equally apprehenſive of the ſuperiority of either, were prevented from doing each other ſo much injury as they could have wiſhed. The war was carried on merely by a few depredations, fatal to the coloniſts, but of little conſequence to the ſeveral nations concerned in them. During the ſcene of cruelties exerciſed by the ſeveral parties of Engliſh and Iroquois, French and Hurons, whoſe ravages extended one hundred leagues from home; ſome actions were performed, which ſeemed to render human nature ſuperior to ſuch enormities.

Some

Some French and Indians having joined in an expedition that required a long march, their proviſions began to fail. The Hurons caught plenty of game, and always offered ſome to the French, who were not ſuch ſkilful huntſmen. The latter would have declined accepting this generous offer; *You ſhare with us the fatigues of war*, ſaid the ſavages: *it is but reaſonable that we ſhould ſhare with you the neceſſaries of life; we ſhould not be men if we acted otherwiſe with men.* If ſimilar inſtances of magnanimity may have ſometimes occurred among Europeans, the following is peculiar to ſavages.

A party of Iroquois being informed that a party of the French and their allies were advancing with ſuperior forces, they fled with precipitation. They were headed by Onontague, who was a hundred years old. He ſcorned to fly with the reſt, and choſe rather to fall into the hands of the enemy; though he had nothing to expect but exquiſite torments. What a ſpectacle, to ſee four hundred barbarians eager in tormenting an old man; who, far from complaining, treated the French with the utmoſt contempt, and upbraided the Hurons with having ſtooped to be the ſlaves of thoſe vile Europeans! One of his tormentors, provoked at his invectives, ſtabbed him in three places, to put an end to his repeated inſults. *Thou doſt wrong*, ſaid Onontague calmly to him, *to ſhorten my life; thou wouldſt have had more time to learn to die like a man.* And are theſe the men whom the French and Engliſh have been conſpiring to extirpate for a century

a century paſt? But, perhaps, they would be aſhamed to live among ſuch models of heroiſm and magnanimity.

THE peace of Ryſwick put a ſudden end to the calamities of Europe and the hoſtilities in America. The Hurons and the Iroquois, as well as the French and Engliſh, were ſenſible that they required a long continuance of peace, to repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained in war. The Indians began to recover themſelves; the Europeans reſumed their labours; and the fur trade, the firſt that could be entered into with a nation of huntſmen, was more firmly eſtabliſhed.

The furs are the foundation of the connections between the French and the Indians.

BEFORE the diſcovery of Canada, the foreſts with which it was over-run were little more than the extenſive haunt of wild beaſts, which had multiplied prodigiouſly; becauſe the few men who lived in thoſe deſerts having no flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for ſuch as were wandering and free like themſelves. If the nature of the climate did not afford an infinite variety, each ſpecies produced, at leaſt, a multitude of individuals. But they at laſt paid tribute to the ſovereignty of man, that cruel power which hath always been exerciſed in a manner ſo fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts nor huſbandry to employ them, the ſavages fed and clothed themſelves entirely with the wild beaſts they deſtroyed. As ſoon as luxury had led us to make uſe of their ſkins, the natives waged a perpetual war againſt them; which was the more active, as it procured them plenty, and a variety of gratifications which

they were unaccuſtomed to; and the more deſtructive, as they had adopted the uſe of our fire-arms. This fatal induſtry exerciſed in the woods of Canada, occaſioned a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs to be brought into the ports of France; ſome of which were conſumed in the kingdom, and the reſt diſpoſed of in the neighbouring countries. Moſt of theſe furs were already known in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our hemiſphere, but in too ſmall quantities to ſupply a general demand. Caprice and novelty have made them more or leſs in faſhion, ſince it has been found to be for the intereſt of the American colonies that they ſhould be valued in the mother countries. It may not be improper to give ſome account of thoſe that are ſtill in requeſt.

THE otter is a voracious animal, which runs or ſwims along the banks or the lakes of rivers, commonly lives upon fiſh, and when that fails, will feed upon graſs, or the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner and place of living he has been ranked amongſt amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, ſince the otter, like all other land animals, cannot live without reſpiration. He is found in all thoſe countries which abound in water, and are temperate, but is more common and much larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is no where ſo black or ſo fine; a circumſtance the more fatal to him, as it expoſes him more to the purſuits of man.

THE

THE pole-cat is in equal eſtimation among the Canadian huntſmen. There are three ſpecies of this animal; the firſt is the common pole-cat; the ſecond is called the mink; and the third, the ſtinking pole-cat, becauſe his urine, which he voids in his fright when he is purſued, is ſo offenſive that it infects the air at a great diſtance. Their hair is darker, more gloſſy, and more ſilky than in Europe.

EVEN the rat in North-America is valuable for his ſkin. There are two ſorts eſpecially whoſe ſkin is an article of trade. The one, which is called the Opoſſum, is twice as large as an European rat. His hair is commonly of a ſilver grey; ſometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which ſhe can open and ſhut at pleaſure. When ſhe is purſued, ſhe puts her young ones into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, which is called the muſk-rat, becauſe his teſticles contain muſk, has all the characteriſtic qualities of the beaver, of which he ſeems to be a diminutive, and his ſkin is employed for the ſame purpoſes.

THE Ermine, which is about the ſize of a ſquirrel, but not quite ſo long, has the ſame lively eyes, keen look, and his motions are ſo quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and buſhy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is as yellow as gold in ſummer, turns as white as ſnow in winter. This lively and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada; but, though ſmaller than the Sable, is not ſo common.

THE Martin is only to be met with in cold countries, in the center of the foreſts, far from all habitations, is a beaſt of prey, and lives upon birds. Though it is but a foot and a half long, it leaves prints on the ſnow, that appear to be the footſteps of a very large animal; becauſe it always jumps along, and leaves the marks of both feet together. Its fur is much eſteemed, though far inferior to that ſpecies which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Sable. This is of a ſhining black. The fineſt among the others is that whoſe ſkin is the moſt brown, and reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The martins ſeldom quit the inmoſt receſſes of their impenetrable woods more than once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter; that is, a great quantity of ſnow, and conſequently good ſport.

THE animal which the ancients called Lynx, known in Siberia by the name of the Ounce, is only called the wild-cat in Canada, where it is ſmaller than in our hemiſphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if he were not endowed with the faculty of ſeeing, hearing and ſmelling at a diſtance, lives upon what game he can catch, which he purſues to the very tops of the talleſt trees. His fleſh is known to be very white and well flavoured; but he is hunted chiefly for the ſake of his ſkin; the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey, but leſs eſteemed than that of the Fox.

THIS carnivorous and miſchievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature affording few vegetables, ſeems to compel all animals to eat

one another. In warmer climates he has loſt much of his original beauty, and his fur is not ſo fine. In the north, it has remained long, ſoft and full, ſometimes white, ſometimes brown, and often red or ſandy. The fineſt of any is that which is black; but this is more ſcarce in Canada than in Muſcovy, which lies further north, and is not ſo damp.

Besides theſe ſmaller furs, North-America ſupplies us with ſkins of the ſtag, the deer, and the roe-buck; of the mooze-deer, called there Caribou; and of the elk, which is called Orignal. Theſe two laſt kinds, which in our hemiſphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this ſide, and the mooze-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more ſouthern latitudes. This may be owing to the cold being more intenſe in America, from ſingular cauſes which make an exception to the general law of nature; or, poſſibly, becauſe theſe freſh lands are leſs frequented by deſtructive man. Their ſtrong, ſoft, and warm ſkins make excellent garments, which are very light. All theſe animals are hunted by the Europeans; but the ſavages have reſerved the chace of the bear to themſelves, it being their favourite ſport, and beſt adapted to their warlike manners, their ſtrength and their bravery, and eſpecially to their wants.

In a cold and ſevere climate, the bear is moſt commonly black. As he is rather ſhy than fierce, inſtead of a cavern, he chuſes for his lurking-place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he fixes himſelf in winter, as high as he can climb. As he is very fat at the end of autumn, very much covered with hair, takes no exerciſe, and is

almoſt always aſleep, he muſt loſe but little by perſpiration, and conſequently muſt ſeldom want to go abroad in queſt of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by ſetting fire to it; and as ſoon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a ſhower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his fleſh, rub themſelves with his greaſe, and clothe themſelves with his ſkin. Such was the deſign of their purſuit after the bear, when a new intereſt directed them towards the beaver.

THIS animal poſſeſſes all the friendly diſpoſitions fit for ſociety, without being ſubject, as we are, to the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for ſocial life, he is endued with an inſtinct adapted to the preſervation and propagation of his ſpecies. This animal, whoſe tender plaintive accents, and whoſe ſtriking example, draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philoſopher, who contemplates his life and manners; this harmleſs animal, who never hurts any living creature, neither carnivorous nor ſanguinary, is become the object of man's moſt earneſt purſuit, and the one which the ſavages hunt after with the greateſt eagerneſs and cruelty: a circumſtance owing to the unmerciful rapaciouſneſs of the moſt poliſhed nations of Europe.

THE beaver is about three or four feet long, but his weight amounts to forty or ſixty pounds, which is the conſequence of the largeneſs of his muſcles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat, and his back raiſed in an arch above it like that of a mouſe. Lucretius has obſerved,

not that man has hands given him to make uſe of them, but that he had hands given him, and has made uſe of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he ſwims with them. The toes of his fore-feet are ſeparate, and anſwer the purpoſe of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with ſcales, he uſes to carry loads and to work with; he has four ſharp inciſors or cutting teeth, which ſerve him inſtead of carpenters tools. All theſe inſtruments, which are in a manner uſeleſs while he lives alone, and do not then diſtinguiſh him from other animals, are of infinite ſervice when he lives in ſociety, and enable him to diſplay a degree of ingenuity ſuperior to all inſtinct.

WITHOUT paſſions, without a deſire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in ſociety, he ſcarcely ventures to defend himſelf. He never bites unleſs he is catched. But in the ſocial ſtate, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to ſecure himſelf without fighting, and to live without committing or ſuffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheleſs independent; he is a ſlave to none, becauſe all his wants are ſupplied by himſelf: he enters into ſociety, but will not ſerve, nor does he pretend to command: and all his labours are directed by a ſilent inſtinct.

IT is the common want of ſubſiſtence and propagation that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in ſummer to build their towns againſt winter. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and aſſemble to the num-

ber of two or three hundred; but always by the water-ſide, becauſe theſe republicans are to live on the water, to ſecure themſelves from invaſion. Sometimes they give the preference to ſtill lakes in unfrequented diſtricts, becauſe there the waters are always at an equal height. When they find no pools of ſtanding water, they make one in the midſt of rivers or ſtreams, by means of a cauſeway or dam. The very plan of this contrivance implies ſuch a complication of ideas, as our ſhort-ſighted reaſon would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The firſt thing to be erected is a pile a hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the baſis, which ſhelves away to two or three feet in a ſlope anſwerable to the depth of the waters. To ſave work, or to facilitate their labour, they chuſe the ſhalloweſt part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-ſide, they fell it, ſo that it falls acroſs the ſtream. If it ſhould be larger in circumference than a man's body, they ſaw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four ſharp teeth. The branches are ſoon lopped off by theſe induſtrious workmen, who want to faſhion it into a beam. A number of ſmaller trees are felled and prepared for the intended pile. Some drag theſe trees to the river ſide, others ſwim over with them to the place where the cauſeway is to be raiſed. But the queſtion is, how theſe animals are to ſink them in the water with the aſſiſtance only of their teeth, tail, and feet: their contrivance is this. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they

reſt

reſt the large end of the ſtake againſt the bank of the river, or againſt the great beam that lies acroſs. With their feet they raiſe the ſtake and ſink it with the ſharp end downwards into the hole, where it ſtands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the ſtakes, which are bound together with twiſted boughs; and thus the pile is conſtructed. The ſlope of the dam is oppoſite to the current, to break more effectually the force of the water by a gradual reſiſtance, and the ſtakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The ſtakes are planted perpendicularly on the ſide where the water is to fall; and, in order to open a drain which may leſſen the effect of the ſlope and weight of the cauſeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

When this work is finiſhed by the whole body of the republic, every member conſiders of a lodging for himſelf. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. Theſe huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round ſpot. Some are two or three ſtories high, according to the number of families or houſeholds. Each hut contains at leaſt two or three, and ſome ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and ſolid both within and without. They are varniſhed with a kind of ſtucco, impenetrable by the water and by the external air. Every apartment has two openings, one on the land ſide, to enable them to go out and fetch proviſions;

ſions; the others on that next the ſtream, to facilitate their eſcape, at the approach of the enemy, that is, of man, the deſtroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the houſe opens to the water. There they take the freſh air in the day-time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it ſerves to fence them againſt the ice, which collects to the thickneſs of two or three feet. The ſhelf, intended to prevent the ice from ſtopping up this window, reſts upon two ſtakes that ſlope ſo as to carry off the water from the houſe, and leave an outlet to eſcape, or to go and ſwim under the ice. The inſide of the houſe has no other furniture than a flooring of graſs, covered with the boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever ſeen in theſe apartments.

THE materials for theſe buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. Theſe are alders, poplars, and other trees, delighting in watery places, as theſe republicans do who build their apartments of them. Theſe citizens have the ſatisfaction, at the ſame time that they faſhion the wood, to nouriſh themſelves with it. Like certain ſavages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The ſavages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded, and properly dreſſed; whereas the beavers chew it, and ſuck it when it is quite green. They lay up a proviſion of bark and tender twigs in ſeparate ſtore-houſes for every hut, proportionable to the number of its inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own ſtorehouſe, and not one of them ſteals from that of his neighbour. Each party live in their own habitation, and are contented

tented with it, though jealous of the property they have acquired in it by their labour. The proviſions of the community are collected and expended without any conteſt. They are ſatisfied with that ſimple food which their labour prepares for them. The only paſſion they have is that of conjugal affection, the baſis and end of which is the increaſe of their ſpecies. Towards the end of winter, the mothers bring forth their young ones, which have been conceived in autumn; and while the father ranges all the woods, allured by the ſweets of the ſpring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the mother ſuckles and nurſes them, to the number of two or three; then ſhe takes them out along with her in her excurſions, in ſearch of cray and other fiſh, and green bark, to recruit her own ſtrength, and to feed them, till the ſeaſon of labour returns.

Such is the ſyſtem of the republican, induſtrious, intelligent beaver, ſkilled in architecture, provident and ſyſtematical in its plans of police and ſociety, whoſe gentle and inſtructive manners we have been deſcribing. Happy, if his coat did not tempt mercileſs and ſavage man to deſtroy his buildings and his race. It has frequently happened, when the Americans have demoliſhed the ſettlements of the beavers, thoſe indefatigable animals have had the reſolution to rebuild them in the very ſame ſituation for ſeveral ſummers ſucceſſively. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience then warns them of their danger. At the approach of the huntſmen, one of them ſtrikes a hard ſtroke with his tail upon the water; this

ſignal

ſignal ſpreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to ſave himſelf under the ice. But it is very difficult to eſcape all the ſnares that are laid for this harmleſs tribe.

SOMETIMES the huntſmen lie in wait for them, but as theſe animals ſee and hear at a great diſtance, it ſeldom happens that they are ſhot by the water-ſide, and they never venture ſo far upon land as to be caught by ſurpriſe. If the beaver be wounded before he takes to the water, he has always time enough to plunge in; and, if he dies afterwards, he is loſt, becauſe he ſinks, and never riſes again.

A MORE certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat the tender bark of young trees. Theſe traps are baited with freſh ſlips of wood, and as ſoon as the beavers touch them, a great weight falls and cruſhes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, haſtens to it, ſeizes the animal, and having killed it, carries it off.

THERE are other methods more commonly and ſucceſsfully practiſed. The huts are ſometimes attacked, in order to drive out the inhabitants, who are watched at the edges of the holes that have been bored in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in freſh air. The inſtant they appear, they are killed. At other times, the animal, driven out of his retreat, is entangled in the nets ſpread for ſome toiſes round his hut, the ice being broken for that purpoſe. If the whole colony is to be taken at once, inſtead of breaking down the

the ſluices to drown the inhabitants, a ſcheme, that might, perhaps, be tried with effect in Holland, the cauſeway is opened, in order to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceleſs, and unable to eſcape, they may be caught at pleaſure, and deſtroyed at any time; but care is always taken to leave a ſufficient number of males and females to preſerve the breed; an act of generoſity, which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foreſight of man only ſpares a few in order to have the more to deſtroy. The beaver, whoſe plaintive cry ſeems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the ſavage, rendered cruel by the Europeans, only an implacable enemy, whoſe enterpriſes are undertaken, not ſo much to ſupply his own wants, as to furniſh ſuperfluities to another world.

If we compare the manners, the police, and the induſtry of the beavers, with the wandering life of the ſavages of Canada; we ſhall be inclined to admit, making allowance for the ſuperiority of man's faculties above thoſe of animals, that the beaver was much further advanced in the arts of ſocial life, than his purſuer, when the Europeans firſt brought their talents and improvements to North-America.

The beaver, an older inhabitant of that world than man, and the quiet poſſeſſor of regions ſo well adapted to his ſpecies, had employed that tranquillity he had enjoyed for many ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemiſphere, man has ſeized upon the moſt wholeſome and fertile regions, and has driven out or ſubdued all other

other animals. If the bee and the ant have preſerved their laws and government from the jealous and deſtructive dominion of tyrant man, it has been owing to the ſmallneſs of their ſize. It is thus we ſee ſome republics in Europe, without ſplendour or ſtrength, maintain themſelves by their very weakneſs, in the midſt of vaſt monarchies, which muſt ſooner or later ſwallow them up. But the ſocial quadrupeds, baniſhed into uninhabited climates, unfit for their increaſe, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural ſagacity; while man, who has reduced them to that precarious ſtate, exults in their degradation, and ſets a high value on that ſuperior nature and thoſe rational powers, which conſtitute a perpetual diſtinction between his ſpecies and all others.

Brutes, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and do not imply any principle ſimilar to that which actuates man. Without examining in what perfection conſiſts; whether the moſt civilized being is in reality the moſt perfect; whether he does not loſe in the property of his perſon what he acquires in the property of things; or, whether what is added to his enjoyments is not ſo much ſubtracted from his duration: it muſt be acknowledged, that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, ſolitary, timorous and ſtupid animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domeſtic government; knew how to diſtinguiſh the proper ſeaſons for labour and reſt, was acquainted with ſome

rules

rules of architecture, and with the curious and learned art of conſtructing dikes; yet he had attained the aſſiſtance of this degree of improvement with feeble and imperfect tools. He can hardly ſee the work he performs with his tail. His teeth, which anſwer the purpoſes of a variety of tools, are circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the contrary, with hands fit for every purpoſe, hath in this ſingle organ of the touch all the combined powers of ſtrength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage of organization that he owes the ſuperiority of his ſpecies above all others? It is not becauſe his eyes are turned towards heaven, as thoſe of all birds are, that he is the lord of the creation; it is becauſe he is provided with hands, capable of every exertion, and of adapting themſelves to every ſpecies of induſtry; hands, ever ready to ſtrike terror into his enemies, to defend or to aſſiſt him. His hand is his ſcepter, that arm which he lifts up to heaven, to find out, as it were, his origin; he, at the ſame time, marks his dominion with it over the earth, by deſtroying and ravaging the face of the globe. The ſureſt ſign of the population of mankind is the depopulation of other ſpecies. That of beavers gradually decreaſes and diſappears in Canada, ſince the Europeans have been in requeſt of their ſkins.

THEIR ſkins vary with the climate, both in colour and quality. In the ſame diſtrict, however, where the colonies of civilized beavers are found, there are ſome that are wild and ſolitary. Theſe animals, who are ſaid to be expelled the ſociety

for

for their ill behaviour, live in a ſubterraneous retreat, and have neither lodging nor ſtorehouſe. Theſe are called earth beavers. Their coat is dirty, and the hair on their backs is worn off by rubbing againſt the cave which they dig for their habitation. The hole they make, and which commonly opens into ſome pond or ditch full of water, ſometimes extends above a hundred feet in length, and riſes gradually in a ſlope to facilitate their eſcape from inundations when the waters ſwell. Some of theſe beavers are ſo wild as to diſclaim all communication with their natural element, and live entirely on land. In this they reſemble our otters in Europe. Theſe wild beavers have not ſuch ſleek hair as thoſe that live in ſocieties; their furs are anſwerable to their manners.

BEAVERS are found in America from the thirtieth to the ſixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the ſouth; but they increaſe in number, and grow darker, as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and ſtraw-coloured; higher up in the country, they are of a light-cheſnut; to the north of Canada, of a dark-cheſnut; and ſome are found that are quite black, and theſe are reckoned the fineſt. Yet in this climate, the coldeſt that is inhabited by this ſpecies, ſome among the black tribes are quite white; others white ſpeckled with grey, and ſometimes with ſandy ſpots on the rump: ſo much does nature delight in ſhewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences, not only on the figure, but on the very

very covering of animals. The value that is ſet upon them depends upon the colour of their ſkins. Some of them are ſo little in eſteem, that it is not thought worth while to kill them; but theſe are not commonly found.

In what places, and in what manner the fur trade was carried on.

THE fur trade was the firſt the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was begun by the French colony at Tadouſac, a port ſituated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivieres at the diſtance of twenty-five leagues above the capital became a ſecond mart. In proceſs of time all the fur trade centered in Montreal. The ſkins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees in the month of June. The number of Indians who reſorted to that place increaſed, as the fame of the French ſpread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the ſight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, all contributed to increaſe this traffic. Whenever they returned with a freſh ſupply of furs, they always brought a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the ſeveral tribes of that vaſt continent reſorted.

THE Engliſh grew jealous of this branch of wealth; and the colony they had founded at New York, ſoon found means to divert the ſtream of this great circulation. As ſoon as they had ſecured a ſubſiſtence, by beſtowing their firſt attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur trade, which was at firſt confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations of that name,

would not ſuffer their lands to be traverſed, in order to give an opportunity of treating with other ſavage nations, who were at conſtant enmity with them; nor would they allow thoſe nations to come upon their territories, to ſhare in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguiſhed, or rather ſuſpended, the national hoſtilities between the Indians, the Engliſh ſpread themſelves over the country, and the ſavages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages to give them the preference to their rivals the French. Their voyages were carried on with greater facility, and conſequently they could afford to underſell them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarſe cloths that were moſt ſuitable to the ſavages. The beaver trade was free among them; whereas among the French, it was and ever has been ſubject to the tyranny of monopoly. It was by this freedom and theſe privileges, that they engroſſed moſt of the trade that rendered Montreal ſo famous.

At this time the French in Canada indulged themſelves more freely in a cuſtom, which at firſt had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the firſt coloniſts, had been wiſely reſtrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permiſſion was, however, granted every year to twenty-five perſons to go beyond theſe limits in order to trade with the Indians. The ſuperiority which New York was acquiring, was the

cauſe of increaſing the number of theſe permiſſions. They were a kind of patents, which the patentees might make uſe of either in perſon or by proxy, and continued a year or more. The produce of the ſale of theſe patents was aſſigned by the governor of the colony, to the officers, or their widows and children, to hoſpitals and miſſionaries, to ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome great action, or ſome uſeful undertaking; and ſometimes even to the creatures of the governor who ſold the patents himſelf. The money, he did not give away, or did not chuſe to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was not accountable to any one for the management of it.

This cuſtom was attended with fatal conſequences. Many of theſe traders ſettled among the Indians, to defraud their partners, whoſe goods they had diſpoſed of. A greater number ſettled among the Engliſh, where the profits were greater. The immenſe lakes, frequently agitated with violent ſtorms; the caſcades, which render navigation ſo dangerous up the broadeſt rivers in the whole world; the weight of the canoes, the proviſions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their ſhoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or ſhallowneſs of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and purſue their journey by land, proved the deſtruction of ſeveral perſons. Some periſhed in the ſnow and on the ice, by hunger or by the ſword of the enemy. Thoſe who returned to the colony with a profit of ſix or ſeven hundred *per cent.* were not always

on that account more uſeful members, as they gave themſelves up to the greateſt exceſſes, and by their example produced in others a diſlike to attention and induſtry. Their fortunes were diſſipated as ſuddenly as they were amaſſed; like thoſe moving mountains which a whirlwind raiſes and deſtroys at once, on the ſandy plains of Africa. Moſt of theſe travelling traders, exhauſted with the exceſſive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiouſneſs of a wandering and diſſolute life, dragged on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took cognizance of theſe irregularities, and changed the manner of carrying on the fur trade.

THE French had for a long time been inceſſantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought neceſſary for the preſervation and aggrandizement of their ſettlements in North America. Thoſe built on the weſt and ſouth of the river S. Lawrence were large and ſtrong, and were intended to reſtrain the ambition of the Engliſh. Thoſe which were conſtructed on the ſeveral lakes in the moſt important poſitions, formed a chain which extended northward to the diſtance of a thouſand leagues from Quebec; but they were only miſerable palliſades, intended to keep the Indians in awe, to ſecure their alliance, and the produce of their chace. There was a garriſon in each, more or leſs numerous, according to the importance of the poſt, and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intruſt the commandant of each of theſe forts with the exclu-

ſive right of buying and ſelling in the whole diſtrict under his dominion. This privilege was purchaſed; but as it was always advantageous, and ſometimes was the means of acquiring a conſiderable fortune, it was only granted to officers that were moſt in favour. If any of theſe had not a ſtock ſufficient for the undertaking, he could eaſily prevail with ſome monied men to join with him. It was pretended that this ſyſtem, far from being detrimental to the ſervice, was a means of promoting it, as it obliged the military men to keep up more conſtant connections with the natives, to watch their motions, and to neglect nothing that could ſecure their friendſhip. It was not foreſeen, or at leaſt pretended not to be ſo by any, that ſuch an arrangement muſt neceſſarily prevail over every principle, except that of intereſt, and would be a ſource of perpetual oppreſſion.

THIS tyranny, which ſoon became univerſal, was ſeverely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of thoſe three forts, making an ill uſe of their excluſive privilege, ſet ſo low a value upon the merchandiſe that was brought them, and rated their own ſo high, that by degrees the Indians inſtead of ſtopping there, reſorted in great numbers to Chouaguen, on the lake Ontario, where the Engliſh traded with them upon more advantageous terms. The French court, alarmed at the account of theſe new connections, found means to weaken them, by taking the trade of theſe three poſts into their own hands, and treating the In-

dians ſtill better than they were treated by their rivals the Engliſh.

In conſequence of this ſtep, the refuſe of all thoſe furs that were not ſaleable became the ſole property of the king; and all the ſkins of thoſe beaſts that were killed in ſummer and autumn were readily given him; in a word, all the moſt ordinary furs, the thinneſt, and moſt eaſily ſpoiled, were reſerved for the king. All theſe damaged furs, bought without examination, were careleſsly depoſited in warehouſes, and eaten up by the moths. At the proper ſeaſon for ſending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the diſcretion of ſoldiers, paſſengers, and watermen, who, having had no concern in thoſe commodities, did not take the leaſt care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were ſold for one half of the ſmall value they had. Thus the returns were rather leſs than the ſums advanced by the government in ſupport of this loſing trade.

But though this trade was of no conſequence to the king, it is ſtill a matter of doubt if it were advantageous to the Indians, though gold and ſilver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs, ſaws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fiſh-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, coarſe woollen ſtuffs; all which may be conſidered as the means or pledges of intercourſe with them. But articles were likewiſe ſold them that would have proved prejudicial

to

to them even as a gift or a preſent; ſuch as guns, powder and ſhot, tobacco, and eſpecially brandy.

THIS liquor, the moſt fatal preſent the old world ever made to the new, was no ſooner known to the ſavages, than they grew paſſionately fond of it. It was equally impoſſible for them to abſtain from it, or to uſe it with moderation. It was ſoon obſerved that it diſturbed their domeſtic peace, deprived them of their judgment, and made them furious; and that it occaſioned huſbands, wives, children, brothers and ſiſters, to abuſe and quarrel with one another. In vain did ſome worthy Frenchmen expoſtulate with them, and endeavour to make them aſhamed of theſe exceſſes. It is you, anſwered they, who have taught us to drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without it. If you refuſe to give it us, we will apply to the Engliſh. You have done the miſchief, and it admits not of a remedy.

THE court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with reſpect to the diſorders occaſioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authoriſed it, according to the light in which it was repreſented to the miniſtry. Notwithſtanding all theſe various alterations, the intereſt of the merchants was nearly the ſame. The ſale of brandy was ſeldom decreaſed. It was, however, conſidered by judicious people, as the principal cauſe of the diminution of the human race, and conſequently that of the ſkins of beaſts; a diminution which became every day more evident.

This decline of the fur trade was not yet ſo remarkable as it has been ſince, when the promotion of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Charles V. ſpread an alarm over all Europe, and plunged it once more into the horrors of a general war. The conflagration extended beyond the ſeas, and was advancing even to Canada, had not the Iroquois put a ſtop to it. The Engliſh and French had long been contending to ſecure an alliance with that nation. Theſe marks of eſteem or fear, had ſo far increaſed their natural pride, that they conſidered themſelves as the umpires of the two rival nations, and pretended that the conduct of both was to be regulated by their intereſt. As they were inclined to peace at that time, they haughtily declared that they would take up arms againſt either of the two nations, which ſhould commence hoſtilities againſt the other. This reſolution was favourable to the ſituation of the French colony, which was ill prepared for a war, and expected no aſſiſtance from the mother-country. The people of New-York, on the contrary, whoſe forces were already conſiderable, and received daily reinforcements, wiſhed to prevail upon the Iroquois to join with them. Their inſinuations, preſents, and negotiations were, however, ineffectual till 1709: at which period they ſucceeded in ſeducing the five nations; and their troops, which till then had remained inactive, marched out ſupported by a great number of Indian warriors.

The army was confidently advancing towards the center of Canada with the greateſt probability

of

of ſucceſs, when one of the chiefs of the Iroquois, who had never approved of their proceedings, plainly ſaid to his people, "What will become "of us if we ſhould ſucceed in driving away the "French?" Theſe few words, uttered with a myſterious and anxious look, immediately recalled to the minds of all the people their former ſyſtem, which was to keep the balance even between the two foreign nations, in order to ſecure their own independence. They inſtantly reſolved to relinquiſh a deſign they had been too precipitately engaged in, contrary to the public intereſt; but, as they thought it would be ſhameful openly to deſert their aſſociates, they imagined that ſecret treachery might ſerve the purpoſe of open defection. The lawleſs ſavages, the virtuous Spartans, the religious Hebrews, the wiſe and warlike Greeks and Romans; all people, whether civilized or not, have always made what is called the right of nations conſiſt either in craft or violence.

THE army had halted on the banks of a little river to wait for the artillery and ammunition. The Iroquois, who ſpent their leiſure hours in hunting, flayed all the beaſts they caught, and threw their ſkins into the river, a little above the camp. The waters were ſoon infected. The Engliſh, who had not any ſuſpicion of ſuch an inſtance of treachery, continued unfortunately to drink of the waters that were thus rendered poiſonous; in conſequence of which, ſuch conſiderable numbers of them immediately died, that it became neceſſary to ſuſpend the military operations.

A ſtill

A ſtill more imminent danger threatened the French colony. A numerous fleet deſtined againſt Quebec, entered the river St. Lawrence the following year, and would probably have ſucceeded, had it reached the place of its deſtination. But the raſhneſs of the admiral joined to the violence of the elements, was the cauſe of its being loſt in the river. Thus was Canada at once delivered from its fears both by ſea and land, and had the glory of maintaining itſelf without ſuccours and without loſs, againſt the ſtrength and policy of the Engliſh.

France is compelled to cede part of the provinces that were united to Canada.

FRANCE, however, which for forty years had ſingly withſtood the combined efforts of all Europe, vanquiſhed or repulſed all the nations united againſt her, gained that point under Lewis XIV, which Charles V. had not been able to do with the innumerable troops of his ſeveral kingdoms: France, which had at that period produced as many great men as would have rendred immortal a ſeries of twenty reigns, and under one in particular had ſignalized herſelf by as many great actions as might have raiſed the glory of twenty different nations, was then upon the point of crowning all its glorious ſucceſſes by placing a branch of the houſe of Bourbon on the throne of Spain. She had then fewer enemies and a greater number of allies than ſhe ever had in the moſt brilliant periods of her proſperity. Every thing concurred to promiſe her an eaſy ſucceſs, a ſpeedy and deciſive ſuperiority.

It was not fortune but nature itſelf that changed her deſtiny. Proud and flouriſhing under a king endowed with the graces and vigour of youth, after having riſen with him through the ſeveral degrees of glory and grandeur, ſhe ſank with him through all the periods of decay incident to human nature. The ſpirit of bigotry, which had been introduced into the court by an ambitious woman, determined the choice of miniſters, generals, and governors; and this choice was always blind and unfortunate. Kings, who, like other men, have recourſe to heaven when they are ready to quit the earth, ſeem in their old age to ſeek for a new ſet of flatterers, who ſooth them with hopes, at the time when all realities are diſappearing. It is at this time that hypocriſy, always ready to avail itſelf of the firſt and ſecond childhood of life, awakens in the ſoul the ideas that had been early implanted in it; and, under pretence of guiding the man to the only happineſs that remains for him, aſſumes an abſolute empire over his will. But as this laſt age, as well as the firſt, is a ſtate of weakneſs, a continual fluctuation muſt, therefore, prevail in the government. Cabals grow more violent and more powerful than ever; the expectations of intriguing men are raiſed; and merit is leſs rewarded; men of ſuperior talents are afraid to make themſelves known; ſollicitations of every kind are multiplied; places are caſually beſtowed upon men all equally unfit to fill them; and yet, preſumptuous enough to think they deſerve them;

BOOK XV.

them; men who rate the eſtimation of themſelves by the contempt they entertain for others. The nation then loſes its ſtrength with its confidence, and every thing is carried on with the ſame ſpirit it was undertaken; that is, without deſign, vigour or prudence.

To raiſe a country from a ſtate of barbariſm, to maintain it in the height of its glory, and to check the rapidity of its decline, are three objects very difficult to accompliſh; but the laſt is certainly the moſt arduous taſk of them all. A nation riſes out of barbariſm by ſudden efforts exerted at intervals; it ſupports itſelf at the ſummit of its proſperity by the powers it has acquired; it declines in conſequence of an univerſal languor, which has been brought on by almoſt imperceptible gradations. Barbarous nations require a long continued reign; but ſhort reigns are beſt calculated to maintain a ſtate in its proſperity. But the long dotage of a declining monarch lays the foundation of evils for his ſucceſſor, which it is almoſt impoſſible to remedy.

Such was the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV. After a ſeries of defeats and mortifications, he was ſtill happy that he could purchaſe peace by ſacrifices which made his humiliation evident. But he ſeemed to wiſh to conceal theſe ſacrifices from his people, by making them chiefly beyond ſea. It is eaſy to judge how much his pride muſt have ſuffered, in giving up to the Engliſh

liſh Hudſon's-bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, three poſſeſſions, which, together with Canada, formed that immenſe tract of country known by the glorious name of New France. We ſhall ſee in the next book by what means this power, accuſtomed to conqueſt, endeavoured to repair its loſſes.

END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

END OF VOL. IV.

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